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# SPECULUM

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# SPECULUM

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# SPECULUM

## A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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VOL. XI

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### THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND (1204—1222)

By A. A. VASILIEV

#### THE GENERAL SITUATION IN THE NEAR EAST AFTER THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1204

THE foundation of the Empire of Trebizond is indissolubly connected with the Fourth Crusade and the formation of the Latin Empire in Constantinople in 1204. At that time the territory of the Byzantine Empire was divided into a great number of states, partly Greek, partly Frankish; the three Greek states were destined to play an important part in the history of the Near East after 1204. These three Greek centers originated the idea of the restoration of the Byzantine Empire with its capital in Constantinople, and one of them successfully carried it out. The Despotat or Principality of Epirus, which in 1222 was proclaimed the Empire of Thessalonica (Saloniki), after a short period of ephemeral political success in the Balkans was crushed in 1230 by the Bulgarian king, John Asen, and forced to give up its ambitious plan to take possession of Constantinople. It sank to earth never to rise again. The two other Greek centers were the Empire of Nicaea under Theodore Lascaris and the Empire of Trebizond under Alexis Comnenus. Both of these were established in Asia Minor; but the Empire of Nicaea, geographically close to Constantinople, had a better chance than remote Trebizond to accomplish the task of recovering Constantinople. In addition, as the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, who after the Frankish invasion had withdrawn to Bulgaria, refused to come to Nicaea, a new patriarch was elected and resided there, and crowned Theodore Lascaris emperor. Thus the geographic location of the new Empire of Nicaea, the presence there of the new Patriarch, and above all the talent and energy of its first two rulers created favorable conditions for the restoration, though on a very small scale, of the Byzantine Empire. The Empire of Trebizond was too far away to enable it to carry into effect the ambitious plan of taking Constantinople. Of course the Comneni who headed the Empire of Trebizond were more famous and much better known among the Greeks than the Lascarids of Nicaea; moreover Trebizond was then economically much more important than Nicaea. But in spite of these advantages the Empire of Trebizond failed in its

original plan to organize a powerful state in Asia Minor and to take possession of Constantinople. We shall discuss this subject in more detail below.

#### THE COMNENI AND THE GEORGIAN BAGRATIDS

One of the most important elements in the problem of the founding of the Empire of Trebizond is the connection of the Byzantine Comneni with the royal Georgian house of the Bagratids (Bagrationi). This connection, always close, explains the peculiar interest of the Georgian dynasty in supporting the expedition headed by Alexius Comnenus for the capture of Trebizond. The Georgian Bagratids became related to the imperial families of Ducas and Comnenus more than a hundred years before the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. During the Macedonian dynasty, under Emperor Romanus III Argyrus (1028-1034), the Iberian Queen Mariam visited Constantinople, and about 1032 a marriage was arranged between her son Bagrat and Helen (Elena), a daughter of Basil Argyrus, the Emperor's brother.<sup>1</sup> In the second half of the eleventh century, under pressure of the Turkish menace, still closer connections were formed between the two harassed Christian monarchs of the Black Sea; in 1065 or 1071 an Iberian princess Martha, whom Byzantine writers call Maria, daughter of Bagrat IV (about 1027-1072) and sister of George II (about 1072-1089), was married to the Byzantine Emperor Michael VII Ducas Parapinakes (1071-1078).<sup>2</sup> Under Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118), the king of Georgia, David II, surnamed 'the Restorer' (1089-1125), sent one of his daughters, Kata, to Constantinople to be the bride of Alexius, son of Nicephorus Bryennius and Anna Comnena, the famous authoress of the *Alexiad* and a daughter of the Emperor Alexius I; thus Kata married a grandson of the Emperor.<sup>3</sup> Under the year 1116 a Georgian chronicler writes: "The same year [David] sent his daughter Kata to Greece to espouse the son of the Emperor. Before that he had sent his oldest daughter Thamar to be the queen of Shirvan; and they both, like stars, one in the east, the other in the west, illuminated the world with the beams borrowed from the sun of their father."<sup>4</sup> Kunik supposes that in the course of the twelfth century other matrimonial alliances which have remained unknown to us were established between the Byzantine and Georgian houses, or that possibly a Comnenus had illegitimate children by a Georgian princess.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cedrenus, II, p. 489. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I (St Petersburg, 1849), 314 and especially n. 2. Skabalanovich, *Byzantine State and Church in the Eleventh Century* (St Petersburg, 1884), p. 13 (in Russian); Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, III (Paris, 1905), 106-107, 137-139; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), pp. 88-89; he erroneously gives the name of Michael Argyrus for Basil.

<sup>2</sup> A. Kunik, 'The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond,' *Uchenyya Zapiski of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg*, first and third sections, II (1854), 708 (genealogical table of the Georgian Bagratids) and 710. In this period sources use indiscriminately the names Alans and Abasgians (Abkhaz) for Georgians (Iberians). Brosset, *op. cit.*, I, p. 330 and especially n. 2. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Zonaras, XVIII, 28 (ed. Dindorf, IV, 256). Kunik, *op. cit.*, p. 710-713. Brosset, *op. cit.*, 360. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (Paris, 1912), 5 and n. 9. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 360. The Georgian chronicler errs in supposing Kata's bridegroom to be the Emperor's son instead of his grandson.

<sup>5</sup> Kunik, *op. cit.*, pp. 714-715.



THE YOUNGER LINE OF THE COMNENIAN FAMILY

For the history of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond the younger branch of the Comnenus family is of particular significance. This branch started with the ambitious and very well educated *sebastocrator* Isaac, son of Alexius I and younger brother of the Emperor John (1118-1143). The members of this younger line after their removal from the throne distinguished themselves by extraordinary energy in attempting to regain it. Isaac's son, Andronicus, 'the Alcibiades of the Middle Byzantine Empire,' the 'Prince-exile' of the twelfth century, 'the future Richard III of Byzantine history,' in whose soul there was 'something similar to that of Caesar Borgia,'<sup>1</sup> ultimately took possession of Constantinople and became emperor (1182-1185). In the third generation this line provided the sovereigns of the Empire of Trebizond. The whole life of Andronicus before he became emperor was marked by his unceasing and energetic struggle with the reigning emperor, his cousin Manuel I (1143-1180), by whom his imperious character and ambitious plans were distrusted. Andronicus' stormy life during this period was full of the most amazing adventures and experiences of all sorts in Russia, Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia. We must for our purpose lay particular stress upon two episodes: his sojourn in Georgia and his governorship in Pontus.

In the course of his numerous wanderings about 1170, Andronicus took refuge at the court of the king of Georgia, George III (1155-1184), where he was honorably and cordially received. A Georgian chronicler gives the following description of Andronicus' visit to Tiflis, the capital of Georgia: 'One day, indeed, [George III] was visited by Andronicus Comnenus, a cousin on his father's side of Manuel the Great, the sovereign of the whole Occident and the emperor of Greece; he was accompanied by his wife, of dazzling beauty, by his sons, and those of his sister. Thanking God for such a favor, George accorded to the prince reception fitting to his high birth, gave him as many cities and citadels as he needed and assigned to him a residence neighbouring his own.' During his sojourn in Georgia, Andronicus took part in George's military expeditions.<sup>2</sup> Later Andronicus left Georgia and took refuge at the court of the Turkish Sultan, Qilij Arslan II.

The ceremonial welcome accorded Andronicus in Georgia reveals to us the very close relations which prevailed between him and the reigning house in Georgia; the fact that Andronicus belonged to the reigning Comnenian family would not in itself have been a sufficient reason for the Georgian king to bestow upon him every kind of favor and honor and to regard him as a close friend and relative. This cordial welcome may very possibly be explained by supposing that the first wife of Andronicus was a Georgian princess of the reigning family. We have some corroborative evidence for this. We know that the Georgian Bagratids had some favorite family names, one of which was David. No Byzantine emperor ever bore this name. But beginning with the second half of the twelfth century, it occurs

<sup>1</sup> See A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, II (Madison, 1929), p. 14; French edition, II (Paris, 1932), p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, pp. 396-397. Kunik, *op. cit.*, p. 715; 721. Th. Uspensky, *Outlines of the history of the Empire of Trebizond* (Leningrad, 1929), p. 29 (in Russian).

several times in the Comnenian family in the line of Andronicus. Excluding David, a son of the Emperor Heraclius in the seventh century,<sup>1</sup> three other Davids belong either to Andronicus' family or to the period of his reign (1182–1185). The youngest chronologically was the last emperor of Trebizond who was dethroned and captured by Muhammed II in 1461; the middle one, a grandson of Andronicus, was the brother of Alexius, the first Trapezuntine emperor; and the oldest was governor of Thessalonica in 1185, related both to Alexius I Comnenus and Manuel I. This unexpected appearance of Georgian names in Andronicus' family may be explained by the fact that his Georgian wife introduced them into his branch of the Comnenian family. This striking detail confirms to a certain extent the hypothesis that beginning with Andronicus I the two states, Byzantine and Georgian, were connected by ties of consanguinity.<sup>2</sup> Andronicus is at any rate believed to have left descendants in Georgia; some of these today bear the family name of Andronikov or, in its present form, Andronikashvili, and like to trace their lineage back to Andronicus Comnenus.<sup>3</sup> The close relationship of Andronicus, the grandfather of the first Trapezuntine emperor, to the ruling house of Georgia, as we shall see later, is extremely important for the better understanding of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond.

Another episode from Andronicus' turbulent life is to be noted in connection with the future foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. Toward the end of his reign Manuel I succeeded in seizing Theodora, Andronicus' passionately beloved wife, and their children. Incapable of enduring the loss, Andronicus resolved to submit to Manuel. Pardon was granted, and Andronicus was appointed governor of Pontus in Asia Minor on the shores of the Black Sea, with his residence either at Sinope or at Oinaion (Unieh). He was there when in 1180 Manuel died, and his son Alexis II, a child of twelve, became emperor.<sup>4</sup> From Pontus in 1182 Andronicus set out for Constantinople and supported by the people who were exasperated by Manuel's latinophile policy, which the Empress-regent, Mary of Antioch, and her favorite, Alexius Comnenus, had continued, he entered the capital in triumph. Mary of Antioch, the child-emperor Alexis II, Manuel's other relatives, and his influential followers were killed at Andronicus' order. Thus in 1183 Andronicus at sixty-three years of age became sole all-powerful emperor.

<sup>1</sup> Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 335. *Anastasi Bibliothecarii Historia Tripartita*, ed. de Boor, p. 210. See A. Pernice, *L'imperatore Eraclio* (Florence, 1905), p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Kunik, 'On the Georgian origin of the grandmother of the first Trapezuntine Emperor,' *Uchenyja Zapiski* of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, first and third sections, II (1854), 788 (in Russian). *Idem*, *The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond*, pp. 719–720. J. Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques relatives à la Transcaucasie* (St Petersburg, 1859), p. 37. Finlay, *History of Greece*, ed. Tozer, IV (Oxford, 1877), 318, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 396, n. 4. Kunik, *On the origin of the Georgian princes Andronikov*, *ibid.*, pp. 789–791. *Idem*, *The Foundation*, p. 717, n. 18; 723. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See F. Cognasso, *Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche in Bizanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno* (Turin, 1912), p. 236 (24) and n. 5. N. Radojčić, *Dva posljednja Komnena na carigradskom prijestolju* (Zagreb, 1907), pp. 19–20 (in Croatian). Ch. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, II (Paris, 1909), 108–109. Cf. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, II, 221: 'Andronic . . . se retire dans ses possessions d'Asie Mineure.'

For the success of the first steps in the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond by Alexius Comnenus and for the temporary military successes of his brother David west of Trebizond in Pontus, the two-year governorship of Andronicus (1180-1182) there is of great importance. The population of Pontus was familiar with the Comnenian family; in 1180-1182, when Andronicus was governor in Pontus, his rule had not been tyrannical. At this period he was doing his best to win the hearts of the people under pretense of protecting the violated rights of the minor Alexius II. The two years of Andronicus' tyranny when he became sole emperor (1183-1185) failed to affect distant Pontus. His political interests, the bloody fight for his own power, and the final catastrophe in 1185 were all closely connected with Constantinople and the Balkans, where William II of Sicily and his Normans captured Thessalonica and began their victorious advance farther east, towards Constantinople. Pontus had not suffered under Andronicus' régime. The Angeli who had replaced the Comneni on the throne of Byzantium might have been regarded in Pontus as undesirable foreign rulers. Accordingly when in 1204 the troops headed by David Comnenus made their appearance in Pontus, most of the population met this member of the Comnenian family as an acceptable successor to Andronicus and offered no resistance.

Two of Andronicus' children are particularly interesting to us: his eldest son, Manuel, by a supposed Georgian princess, and another son, Alexius, by Theodora. A Georgian chronicler calls Alexius Thamar's (Tamara's) close relative and paternal cousin of the Emperor of Greece, who at that time, before becoming Emperor of Byzantium, was in Georgia, and reports that some nobles of Georgia wished to ask Alexius to come to Georgia to marry Thamar (Tamara).<sup>1</sup> Here once more we have a hint of Andronicus' sojourn in Georgia and new and valuable information on the possible close relationship through the male line between Byzantium and Georgia. Kunik plausibly conjectures that after the fall of Andronicus in 1185, his son Alexius might have taken refuge in Georgia for the second time; and that Thamar might also have had some relationship with him besides being the paternal aunt of his nephew Alexius, the first Trapezuntine emperor.<sup>2</sup>

A more important figure than this Alexius is Andronicus' eldest son, Manuel, the father of the first Trapezuntine emperor. It is worthy of notice that some scholars identify Manuel with a Byzantine ambassador to Russia, Manuel Comnenus, who was sent by Manuel I on a mission in 1164-1165.<sup>3</sup> In the same

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-413. See Kunik, *The Foundation*, p. 719. Cognasso, *Partiti politici*, pp. 235-236 and n. 1 on p. 236. Uspensky, *Outlines*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Kunik, *op. cit.*, pp. 717-718, n. 18 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, II (Paris, 1912), 481, n. 5. S. Shestakov, *A Byzantine Ambassador to Russia, Manuel Comnenus*, in the *Mélanges Korsakoff* (Kazan, 1913), p. 381 (in Russian). Other scholars reject this theory. See C. Grot, *From the History of Ugría (Hungary) and the Slavs in the twelfth century* (Warsaw, 1889), p. 328 (in Russian). G. Vernadsky, 'Relations byzantinorusses au XIIe siècle,' *Byzantion*, IV (1927-1928), 270-271. We do not know when Manuel was born. Kunik (p. 717) supposes that he might have been born before 1160, perhaps even before 1150. In another place Kunik writes: 'If Manuel, the father of the first Trapezuntine emperor, was born to Andronicus by a Georgian princess, this must have happened before 1160' (p. 720). Shestakov (p. 381) writes that since Andronicus was born about 1120, his son might easily have been a little over twenty in 1164.

year (1165) Andronicus himself was in southwest Russia with the Prince of Galich, Yaroslav, so that Manuel Comnenus' mission was no doubt connected with the wanderings of Andronicus and was induced by the eager desire of the Emperor to get back his restless relative. Manuel, who bore the very high title of *sebastocrator*, disapproved of the tyrannical régime of his father and therefore was not on good terms with him. The identity of Manuel's wife is unknown. The Georgian chronicler once only mentions that Thamar had a sister.<sup>1</sup> Kunik supposes that she might have been Manuel's wife, and perhaps in 1185 it was she who escaped with her two children from Constantinople to her sister in Georgia.<sup>2</sup> This is of course purely hypothetical though probable.<sup>3</sup> Another purely hypothetical question is whether or not Manuel visited Georgia. Kunik believes this doubtful.<sup>4</sup> True, the Georgian chronicler states that Andronicus came to Georgia accompanied by his wife, *his sons*, and those of his sister.<sup>5</sup> Since his wife at that time was Theodora, the chronicler's words 'his sons' might have referred to his sons by Theodora; Manuel was his son by another wife, probably a Georgian princess. But it is probable that Manuel also accompanied his father and his stepmother in their wanderings; and his visit to Georgia would have been especially welcome if he had married a Georgian princess.

Manuel perished in the catastrophe of 1185. Although he had opposed his father's atrocities, he was nevertheless as a member of the Comnenian family involved in his fate. He was captured and blinded by Isaac Angelus, and evidently perished from the effects of the brutal mutilation; his brother John met the same end.<sup>6</sup>

While studying at the Acropolis of Trebizond in 1916-1917, Th. Uspensky was very much interested in the tower at the north corner, where he observed traces of an old church with remnants of painting. In the frescoes upon the walls of the upper section of the tower is visible a crowned man in imperial robes. On either side of his crown is a partly erased inscription which contains the names of Andronicus and the *sebastocrator* Manuel, respectively grandfather and father of Alexius and David, founders of the Trapezuntine Empire. Uspensky is inclined to believe that the second or middle section of the tower conceals the sepulcher of the first Comneni. Unfortunately Uspensky had not enough time to carry out an exhaustive exploration of the tower, so that his speculations cannot be taken for proven. Referring to his own conjecture that the tower preserves the sepulcher of Andronicus and the *sebastocrator* Manuel, whose names are mentioned in the inscription, Uspensky writes: 'There is no question of Andronicus, for his dead body was scattered by the populace to the winds, and it is stated as to Manuel that he died in Constantinople after the brutal operation of blinding.' He adds:

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

<sup>2</sup> Kunik, *The Foundation*, p. 713.

<sup>3</sup> Gerland asserts positively that Thamar's sister married Manuel. E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg v. d. Höhe, 1905), pp. 34-35.

<sup>4</sup> Kunik, *op. cit.*, p. 722; see also p. 717, n. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

<sup>6</sup> Nicetas Acominatus, p. 466. See F. Cognasso, *Un imperatore bizantino della decadenza, Isacco II Angelo* (Rome, 1915), p. 5 (the name of the victims are not given); this study was originally printed in *Bessarione*, anno XIX, XXXI (1915), 29-60 and 246-289. J. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), p. 41.

'It would not of course be difficult to imagine that Manuel's remains were later transported to Trebizond, that a sepulcher was made for him, and that over his body a church was erected.'<sup>1</sup> I do not yet venture to endorse Uspensky's supposition of the transportation of Manuel's body to Trebizond. But further thorough exploration of the northern corner tower in the Acropolis of Trebizond would be extremely desirable, the more so as the inscription was already rather faded in 1916-1917, when Uspensky saw it, and may for want of adequate precautions completely disappear.

THE ESCAPE OF ALEXIUS AND DAVID FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

Manuel left two sons, infants, Alexius and David. They were born just before the revolution of 1185: Alexius in 1182,<sup>2</sup> David a year or two later; there is no evidence that they were twins. Alexius was destined to become the first emperor of Trebizond. After the violent deaths of their father, uncle, and grandfather they were the legal heirs to the Byzantine throne, and therefore dangerous rivals to the new emperor, Isaac Angelus. For this reason we find it impossible to believe that the princes could have stayed in Constantinople after Isaac Angelus' attempt to wipe out the Comnenian family.

Of the history of these two brothers between 1185 and 1204, when the Latin Empire was established, we know nothing. But we know with certainty that in 1204 they were in Georgia at the court of Thamar (Tamara). Most scholars who deal with the history of the Empire of Trebizond have endeavored to fill this gap by various methods of reasoning and to fix the moment when the children left Constantinople.

One group of scholars is inclined to believe that Alexius and David as children were safely taken away from Constantinople in the very year of the revolution of 1185 and brought to Georgia to their close relative Thamar, who according to Panaretos was their paternal aunt;<sup>3</sup> in Georgia they grew up and received their education. In 1827 Fallmerayer wrote that under cover of the confusion of the popular riot of 1185 the princess Thamar, a daughter of Andronicus, managed not only to save the infants from the fury of Isaac Angelus but also to seize gold and precious stones from the family possessions to take with them, which may explain the great wealth of the court of Trebizond of which we shall speak later. According to the same author, in the general confusion the flight east was not

<sup>1</sup> Uspensky, *Outlines of the history of Trebizond*, p. 42; also p. 34; 40-41; 155. It is important to note that the title of *sebastocrator* did not exist at the court of the emperors of Trebizond (*ibid.*, p. 41) so that the Manuel mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified with any emperor of Trebizond. If Uspensky considers the transportation of Manuel's body to Trebizond possible, he might have said the same of Andronicus' remains. His statement that Andronicus' body was scattered to the winds is inexact. Our source says that after Andronicus' death, his lacerated body was left for several days in the Hippodrome; then some charitable people removed it and deposited it 'in a very low place' *παρά τινι κατωτάτω τόπῳ* near the monastery of Ephoros, not far from the Baths of Zeuxippos. Isaac Angelus forbade the burial of Andronicus' body (Nicetas Acom., p. 460). It might, like Manuel's have been secretly removed to Trebizond.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Panaretos says that when Alexius Comnenus took possession of Trebizond in 1204 he was twenty-two years old. Ed. Lambros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνημον*, IV (1907), 266.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Panaretos, ed. Lambros, p. 266: *τῆς πρὸς πατρός θείας αὐτοῦ Θάμαρ*.

difficult, because the vessels supposedly prepared by Andronicus to fight the Norman fleet filled the harbor, and the regions on the south shores of the Black Sea, especially Paphlagonia and Heleno-Pontus, were devoted to Andronicus' family.<sup>1</sup> No doubt Fallmerayer based his statement that Thamar was a daughter of Andronicus on the passage of Panaretos just quoted that the queen of Georgia, Tamara, was Alexius' and David's paternal aunt, i.e., a sister of Manuel, their father, and consequently a daughter of Andronicus, their grandfather. But in 1827, when Fallmerayer printed his epoch-making *History of the Empire of Trebizond*, the Georgian chronicle published by Brosset in Georgian and in a French translation in 1849 was inaccessible to him. And this chronicle gives no data whatever to prove the existence of the second Thamar, Andronicus' daughter. Fallmerayer entirely ignores Thamar, the famous queen of Georgia, her rôle and importance in the history of Georgia and the Near East as well as in the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. This omission was of course due to the inadequate information at his disposal. Following Fallmerayer, F. de Pfaffenhoffen wrote in 1847 that Thamar, supported by the partisans of her family, took a portion of the family treasures and the two children, and boarding one of the ships which had been prepared to sail against the Norman fleet, fled to Colchis.<sup>2</sup> In 1849, basing his information on Fallmerayer's book, a Russian scholar, P. Medovikov, wrote that Alexius and David, sons of Emmanuel Comnenus and grandsons of the great though cruel Andronicus I, saved by his daughter Thamar took refuge with their adherents and treasures in Colchis on the banks of Phasis. At the time of the conquest of Constantinople the elder of them, then a young man of twenty-two, entered and conquered the region of Trebizond.<sup>3</sup> In 1854 Kunik stated positively that the Comneni had been taken away from Constantinople when they were still infants, and he energetically and correctly rejected the theory of the existence of Thamar, Andronicus' daughter.<sup>4</sup> In 1859 Bartholomaei, evidently unacquainted with Kunik's study, wrote that if the chronicle of Panaretos had not stated that the Thamar with whose aid Alexius had levied an army to conquer Trebizond was his father's sister, consequently a daughter of a Byzantine prince, one would be tempted to believe that the whole expedition was Georgian.<sup>5</sup> In 1870 a Greek scholar, S. Ioannides, in general retelling Fallmerayer's narrative, makes some changes and adds some unproven statements concerning Thamar. According to him, the fugitive princes came to Thamar in Iberia, beyond Colchis; daughter of Andronicus and sister of Manuel, the father of Alexius and David, Thamar several years earlier had married a ruler of Georgia, David; after the latter's death Thamar began to rule, having her residence in Tiflis, a city of Georgia.<sup>6</sup> In 1898 another Greek historian, T. Evan-

<sup>1</sup> Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-43.

<sup>2</sup> F. de Pfaffenhoffen, *Essai sur les aspres comnéniens, ou blancs d'argent, de Trébizonde*, "Λεπρά λεγόμενα Κομνήνατα" (Paris, 1847), pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> P. Medovikov, *The Latin Emperors in Constantinople and their attitude towards the Greek independent rulers and the indigenous population in general* (Moscow, 1849), p. 79 (in Russian).

<sup>4</sup> Kunik, *op. cit.*, pp. 724-726.

<sup>5</sup> J. Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques, relatives à la Transcaucasie* (St Petersburg, 1859), p. 37.

<sup>6</sup> Σ. Ίωαννίδης, *Ίστορία και στατιστική Τραπεζούντος* (Constantinople, 1870), p. 51.

gelides, closely follows Ioannides' scheme; he falls into total confusion in saying that Alexius, the first Trapezuntine emperor, was a son of Manuel Comnenus who had reigned in Constantinople from 1143 to 1180, and a grandson of Andronicus I (1183).<sup>1</sup> Two Russian scholars, P. Bezobrazov in 1916 and Th. UsPENSKY in 1929, share Kunik's opinion that the infants were taken away from Constantinople in 1185; but they both erroneously attribute to Fallmerayer the theory which was later advocated by Finlay that Alexius and David left Constantinople not in 1185 but shortly before 1204.<sup>2</sup> The most recent Greek historian, G. K. Skaliēris, regards the queen of Georgia, Thamar, as a daughter of Andronicus I, and calls her 'a Greek Empress of Iberia' (Georgia).<sup>3</sup>

A much smaller group of historians holds the opinion that Alexius and David left Constantinople just before 1204. The first to set forth this theory was the English historian G. Finlay. According to him, during the revolution of 1185 the infants Alexius and David were hidden in Constantinople. They were brought up and educated there in obscurity, neglected and forgotten by the imperial court until the Crusaders besieged Constantinople. Before the city was taken, the two young men escaped to the coast of Colchis, where their paternal aunt, Thamar, possessed wealth and influence. Finlay is inclined to accept two Thamars: the first one, the aunt just mentioned, may have been the widow of some Colchian prince who had maintained his independence against the second Thamar, the Queen of Georgia.<sup>4</sup> Finlay's theory was adopted in 1886 by W. Fischer.<sup>5</sup> But after the publication of Kunik's study, which was unknown to Finlay and Fischer, their theory was rejected by the majority of historians.

A third group of scholars consists of those who have not taken into consideration the question when and how Alexius and David left Constantinople. This group goes back to the seventeenth century when Du Cange, in his work on Byzantine families, briefly treated of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. The material which Du Cange was able to use was desperately scanty and scattered, so that we are not surprised that the great scholar's starting point was incorrect. According to Du Cange, Alexius Comnenus, surnamed the Great with the title of *dux*, had governed Colchis, i.e., the Trapezuntine province under the Constantinopolitan emperors; when Constantinople was captured in 1204 by the Franks, he decided to proclaim himself the supreme ruler of the duchy.<sup>6</sup> Following Du Cange, Gibbon stated that by the indulgence of the Angeli Alexius

<sup>1</sup> T. Εὐαγγελίδης, *Ἱστορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιωτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς* (756 π. X. — 1897). *Ἐν Ὀδησσῶ* (Odessa), 1898, pp. 46-48.

<sup>2</sup> P. V. Bezobrazov, *Trebizond: its sanctuaries and antiquities* (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 4-5 (in Russian). Th. UsPENSKY, *Outlines of the history of the Empire of Trebizond* (Leningrad, 1929), pp. 29-30 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> Γ. Κ. Σκαλιέρης, *Ἡ αυτοκρατορία τῆς Τραπεζούντος* (Athens, s. a.), p. 82. This book was printed in 1926. The author calls Thamar *Ἑλληνίδι Βασίλισσῃ τῆς Ἰβηρίας* (Γεωργίας).

<sup>4</sup> G. Finlay, *A History of Greece*, ed. Tozer, IV (Oxford, 1877), 317-318 and n. 1 on p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> W. Fischer, 'Trapezunt und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte,' *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Geschichte*, III (1886), p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Du Cange, *Familiae Byzantinae*, p. 191: 'Alexius Comnenus, cognomento Magnus, cum Colchidem, seu Trapezuntinam provinciam, Ducis titulo sub imperatoribus Constantinopolitanis regeret, capta a Francis Urbe anno MCCIV, ejusdem provinciae principatum supremo jure tenendum sibi adseruit.'

was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond; 'his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence.'<sup>1</sup> In 1816 F. Rühls reproduced Du Cange's passage in German, but called Alexius a son of Andronicus II.<sup>2</sup> Du Cange's statement was again given in 1824 by P. Afzelius.<sup>3</sup> In 1834 we read in the new edition of the history of Lebeau that Alexis and David retired to Pontus, where their grandfather had long lived, and that with the aid of the partisans of their family, they made an independent state.<sup>4</sup> In 1907 N. Iorga wrote that David and Alexius Comnenus, grandsons of the Emperor Andronicus by their father Manuel and relations of a princess of Georgia, had settled in the dominions of their grandfather, into which they incorporated Trebizond, capital of an old Byzantine duchy.<sup>5</sup> The latest English historian of the Empire of Trebizond, W. Miller, does not discuss at all the preliminaries of the foundation of the Empire and merely says briefly that Alexius, who had left the Imperial city for Georgia, set out for Trebizond at the head of a Georgian contingent.<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps it is worth while to note a misleading statement of Guy Le Strange: 'Independently of Constantinople, Emperors had ruled in Trebizond since early in the thirteenth century when Alexius Comnenus, to escape the tyranny of the Latin occupation of the capital, had established his dynasty assuming the empire of this territory.'<sup>7</sup> Of course Alexius, as we have mentioned above, escaped from Constantinople as an infant, nineteen years before the Latins took possession of the city.

#### TAMAR (TAMARA), QUEEN OF GEORGIA (1184-1212)

The person who took the most important part in the formation of the Empire of Trebizond was Tamar (Tamara), queen of Georgia (1184-1212).<sup>8</sup> This period was the heyday of the Georgian kingdom.<sup>9</sup> The king of the Georgians and Abkhaz (Ahasgians), David II the Restorer (1089-1125), had laid the foundation of the very strong political power of Georgia. The Georgian kingdom of his period was

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chapter LXXI, ed. Bury, VI, 420-421. See also V, 241: 'The posterity of Andronicus, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history and so famous in romance.'

<sup>2</sup> F. Rühls, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1816), pp. 131-132.

<sup>3</sup> P. W. Afzelius, *De Imperio Trapezuntino* (Upsala, 1824), p. 12: 'Alexius, quem traditur jam ante Urbem captam, Colchidem sive provinciam Trapezuntinam, Ducis titulo, gubernasse.'

<sup>4</sup> Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, nouvelle édition par Saint-Martin et M. Brosset, XVIII (Paris, 1834), 254.

<sup>5</sup> N. Iorga, *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1907), p. 175. The same passage has been reproduced by Iorga in 1934 in French. N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine. Empire et civilisation*, III (Bucarest, 1934), 104.

<sup>6</sup> W. Miller, *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> Guy Le Strange in the introduction to his translation of Clavijo's embassy to Tamerlane (London, 1928), p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> On the chronology of the reign of Tamar see Brosset, *Additions et éclaircissements à l'histoire de la Géorgie* (St Petersburg, 1851), pp. 296-298. Finlay (*op. cit.*, IV, 318, n. 1) writes that Tamar died in 1200. This year was erroneously given by a Georgian writer of the mid-eighteenth century who lived in Moscow, Wakhushti (Wakhusht), the author of *The Geographical Description of Georgia*. See Brosset, *Additions*, p. 297. On Wakhushti see Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

<sup>9</sup> See Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 95.



'in many ways a direct product of the Crusades,'<sup>1</sup> because the successful campaign of the western knights of the First Crusade against the Seljuq Turks in Asia Minor led to the temporary weakening of the latter and enabled David II to open a victorious campaign against the Muslims from the north. In 1122 Tiflis, the ancient Georgian capital which had been a city of Islam for nearly four hundred years, capitulated. David II incorporated within his dominions many new territories, organized a powerful state, and in order to strengthen the prestige of his dynasty concluded some foreign marriages. As we have noted above, one of his daughters, Kata, was sent to Constantinople to be the bride of Alexius, the son of Nicephorus Bryennius and Anna Comnena. If the thirty years which followed the death of David II in 1125 were years of stagnation in the political life of Georgia, some revival may be marked with the accession to the throne of George (Giorgi) III (1155-1184), though in his conflicts with the Muslims he was not always successful. But in the internal life of Georgia he succeeded in putting down most cruelly the revolt of the great nobles of the country who resented the growing power of the king.

George (Giorgi) III was succeeded by his daughter Thamar (Tamara), the most popular and picturesque figure in Georgian history and legend, according to Fallmerayer a Caucasian Semiramis.<sup>2</sup>

The characteristic trait of her rule is her successful internal and external policy; during her reign, as Allen writes, 'the nation expressed its unbounding energies in vigorous building throughout the country, and continuous victories beyond the frontiers.'<sup>3</sup> Within a decade after the Third Crusade, after the kings of France and England, defeated by the Muslims, 'had gone with contumely out of Palestine, the royal army of Georgia could carry terror and rapine through all the Muslim lands which lay between the Black Sea and the south-eastern corner of the Caspian.'<sup>4</sup> Beyond the frontiers in foreign politics Thamar made her authority felt effectively. 'David II the Restorer and the queen Thamar brought to its apogee the political power of Georgia as well as its intellectual, artistic, and scientific development.'<sup>5</sup> After her first unfortunate and childless marriage with a Russian prince, George Bogolyubski, whose father, the Grand Prince Andrew (Andrei) of Suzdal was assassinated in 1175 on account of his autocratic tendencies, Thamar married again; her husband was David Soslan, an Ossetian prince, who energetically supported the imperialistic policy of his wife.

It is not surprising that in the Georgian literary tradition Thamar has left a deep impress, and that Georgian chroniclers extol her to the skies. She is 'a second Constantine.' She is seated 'on her sublime throne, beautiful as Venus, magnificent as the sun of Apollo, ecstatically admirable to contemplate, exciting enthusiasm and rapture among those who approach her and look on her; . . . she

<sup>1</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt* (Munich, 1827), p. 42. See also Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques* (St Petersburg, 1859), p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104.

<sup>4</sup> Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> N. Marr et M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne* (Paris, 1931), p. viii.

is a masterpiece of the Divinity.' Thamar possessed 'the mildness of David, the wisdom of Solomon, the energy and foresight of Alexander [the Great] . . . She was an emulator of Alexander.'<sup>1</sup> A poet of that period proclaims that 'neither Aeneas nor Homer nor Plato . . . nor Zoroaster nor Aristotle would be able to sing her praises. Thamar is political wisdom, the military glory of Georgia . . . Thamar is God.'<sup>2</sup> The same poet praises also David Soslan, Thamar's second husband, and sings his military successes. 'David gained many brilliant victories . . . Seas have submitted and wicked tongues have grown silent. No one has equalled this kingly couple . . . War has been decided: at the head of it stood a lion, David, like David (the King of Judaea), and he valiantly and successfully led the troops upon the Muslims . . . David's attack upon his enemies seemed like that of a lion upon a frightened horse or a worn-out fox.'<sup>3</sup> But the Muhammedan writers, who from Thamar's military successes over the Muslims had no reason to favor her, have given a different portrait of the Georgian queen. A writer of the thirteenth century, Ibn-al-Bibi, remarks in rather Oriental style: 'Owing to her female nature, Thamar, the queen of Georgia and Abkhaz, has given the rein of her heart into the hand of lust, so that when she hapened to hear of a handsome prince, she immediately fell in love with him without seeing him.'<sup>4</sup>

It is always to be kept in mind that towards the end of the twelfth century and at the outset of the thirteenth, Thamar created a strong Christian state and that for a time this became the leading state in the Near East.<sup>5</sup> The Byzantine Empire after its crushing defeat in 1176 by the Seljuq Sultan Kiliġ-Arslan (1156-1188), when the Emperor Manuel I barely escaped with his life, entered the fatal period of the Angeli and ended its political existence in the final catastrophe of 1204. After 1176 it was expected that the victorious Kiliġ-Arslan would occupy the leading position in the Near East; but before his death he divided his dominions among his sons, and the resulting internal disturbances led to the temporary weakening of the Sultanate of Rum. Georgia under Thamar, stubbornly pursuing her imperialistic policy and successfully advancing, especially south of the Caucasus, became, as we shall see later, the decisive element in the formation of the Trapezuntine Empire.

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pp. 405, 409; 410-411; 429.

<sup>2</sup> N. Marr, *Ancient Georgian poets (odopistsy) of the twelfth century*. II. *A singer of Tamara. Texty i razyskanija po armjano-gruzinskoi filologii*, IV (St Petersburg, 1902), 41-42; 49-50; 53 (in Russian).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> P. Melioransky, 'The Seljuq-Naméh, as a source for the history of Byzantium in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,' *Viz. Vremennik*, I (1894), 621 (in Russian). Allen (p. 103) remarks that 'despite the poetic licence of Lermontov (a Russian poet) there is no evidence to show that Tamara was subject to those erotic failings to which her son and daughter were addicted in their time and tasted to the full.' But Lermontov, in his verses, might have reflected the Muslim tradition.

<sup>5</sup> No special monograph on Tamara exists worthy of her activities and achievement. There is a book in Russian by M. G. Djanashvili, *Queen Tamara* (Tiflis, 1900, pp. 127-ix); it is a Russian translation of the author's Georgian articles. I have not seen the book. For a criticism see A. Djavakhov, in *Viz. Vremennik*, XI (1904), pp. 325-328. On Thamar see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, pp. 403-480. *Idem*, *Additions*, pp. 266-298. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-108.

## SOURCES ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND

The Greek sources on the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond may be divided into three groups: first, those dealing with the preliminaries of the foundation, i.e., how and when the brothers Alexius and David left Constantinople for Georgia; second, those concerned with the rôle played in this event by the Queen of Georgia, Thamar (Tamara); and third, those treating of the foundation itself. There is only one contemporary historian, Nicetas Acominatus Choniates, who died soon after 1210. The historian next to him in time is George Acropolita, who died at the beginning of the ninth decade of the thirteenth century; so that he was not a contemporary writer.

On the first point, that of the preliminaries of the foundation of the Empire, neither Nicetas Acominatus nor George Acropolita nor any other source to be discussed later gives us any information. Laonicas Chalcocondyles (Chalcocondyles, or in an abbreviated form, Chalcondyles), an historian of the second half of the fifteenth century, alone refers to it. His text runs as follows: 'The emperors of Colchis are said to have been formerly the emperors of Byzantium, of the house of the Comneni. When they were deprived of their power, Isaac, a son of the Emperor, after his father had been killed by the populace because of their hatred to him, escaped and left for Colchis and Trebizond. On his coming there, the local population made him the ruler of Colchis, so that he transferred the empire to Trebizond, [a city] of Colchis. Since then they have been reigning there up to our time, being Greeks by origin and preserving Greek customs as well as the Greek tongue.'<sup>1</sup> One of course observes at once that this narrative is in some respects incorrect. The name of the prince who escaped from Constantinople was not Isaac but Alexius; he was not a son of the Emperor (Andronicus) but a grandson. But in his rather confused record Laonicas has preserved a very valuable tradition that Alexius (Isaac in Laonicas) escaped from Constantinople immediately after Andronicus' violent death, i.e., in 1185; in addition, by pointing out three times that Trebizond was a city of Colchis and that Alexius (Isaac) became ruler of Colchis, Laonicas has preserved a reflection of the real historical fact that Colchis (Georgia) took a preponderant part in the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond.

The participation of the Queen of Georgia, Thamar, in the foundation of the Empire, is mentioned by only one Greek source, Michael Panaretos, a special 'historian' of Trebizond; he notes that Alexius Comnenus, 'marching from Iberia

<sup>1</sup> *Laonicas Chalcocondyles*, ed. Bonn, p. 461. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, II, pars posterior (Budapest, 1927), 218-219: 'οἱ γὰρ Κολχίδος βασιλεῖς λέγονται μὲν γενέσθαι πρότερον Βυζαντίου βασιλεῖς, τῆς Κομνηνῶν οἰκίας, τούτους δ' ὡς ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, Ἰσαάκιον τὸν παῖδα τοῦ βασιλέως διαφυγόντα, τελευτήσαντος ὑπὸ δῆμον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὀχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα χώραν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα. ἀφικόμενον δὲ ἐνταῦθα καταστῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Κολχίδος ἡγεμονίαν, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μετενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα τῆς Κολχίδος, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε βασιλείαν ἐνταῦθα ἔσσε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς διαγενομένου, Ἑλληνῆς τε ὄντας τὸ γένος, καὶ τὰ ἦθη τε ἅμα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν προιεμένους Ἑλληνικῆν.' According to a very eminent Byzantine philologist, G. L. F. Tafel, this passage of Laonicas has survived not in its original shape but with interpolations. See ed. Darkó, II (2), p. 218, note to line 19. On Tafel's unpublished study on Laonicas, preserved in Berlin, see Darkó, *op. cit.*, I (1922), vii.

supported by the zeal and efficient help of his paternal aunt, Thamar, took possession of Trebizond.<sup>1</sup> In this brief statement one detail is to be noted: Panaretos does not call Thamar the queen. But I believe there is no doubt that Panaretos meant Queen Thamar, and not another problematical Thamar who as has been pointed out above, was erroneously invented by some scholars. Panaretos wrote that Thamar supported Alexius Comnenus 'with zeal and care' (*σπουδῇ καὶ μόχθῳ*).

On the foundation of the Empire, most Greek sources give two brothers, Alexius and David, as the founders of the Empire, and call them the grandsons of Andronicus and sons of Manuel.<sup>2</sup> Some later sources call the brothers simply Andronicus' descendants,<sup>3</sup> or point out that they belonged to the family of the Comneni.<sup>4</sup>

Let us pass to the Georgian sources.

The large Georgian historical compilation, published in the original Georgian and in a French translation by M. Brosset in 1849, is a production of the mid-eighteenth century. The King of Georgia, Wakhtang VI, who in the eighteenth century imported to Georgia the first printing-press from Wallachia, and his son, Wakhushti, who as an impoverished refugee settled in Moscow, are responsible for the completion in 1745 of *A Geographic Description of Georgia*. This *Description*, compiled from many sources, written in different periods and of course lacking uniform historical value, has long been difficult to use because the authenticity of its sources has not been satisfactorily studied. Owing to the careful investigations of a Georgian scholar, M. G. Djanashvili, we have now a much better idea of the significance of the Georgian compilation.<sup>5</sup> For the question of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond it is extremely important to know that Djanashvili has shown that the Georgian compilation as to the reign of Giorgi III (1155-1184) and his daughter, Queen Thamar (1184-1212) is the account of an anonymous eyewitness. The style is official; there are no details; only the most important events are indicated. The events of this period (the eleventh and twelfth centuries) in the history of Georgia presented by eyewitnesses are gener-

<sup>1</sup> Michael Panaretos, ed. S. Lambros, p. 266: 'ὁ κύριος Ἀλέξιος . . . ἐκστρατεύσας δ' ἐξ Ἰβηρίας σπουδῇ καὶ μόχθῳ τῆς πρὸς πατρός θείας αὐτοῦ Θάμαρ, καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα.'

<sup>2</sup> Nic. Acom., p. 842. Georg. Acropolita, §7 (ed. Heisenberg, I, 12). Ephraemius, verses 7525-7527 (ed. Bonn, p. 304).

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous, *Σύνοψις χρονική*, in Sathas, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, VII (Paris, 1894), 453.

<sup>4</sup> Critobulus, *De rebus gestis Mechemetis*, II, iv, 1, 4, in C. Müller, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, v, 1 (Paris, 1870), 137: 'ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους Ῥωμαίων τῶν Κομνηνῶν, ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ. Βησσαρίων, Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα, in Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν, XIII (1916), p. 183: 'θεός . . . τοὺς τε Κομνηνάδας ἡμῖν ἐβασίλευσε . . . τότε μὲν εὐθὺς Ἀλέξιον προβαλόμενος.' In the separate edition of Bassarion's *Encomium* (Athens, 1916), p. 41.

<sup>5</sup> M. G. Djanashvili, *Kartlis Tskhovreba. Life of Georgia*, in *Sbornik* (Collection) of materials for the description of the countries and tribes of the Caucasus, xxxv (1905), 113-235 (in Russian). The Georgians themselves call their country *Kartli* (*Karthli*). On the names of Georgia see M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie. Introduction et Tables des matières* (St Petersburg, 1858), p. iv. *Idem*, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, part I (St Petersburg, 1849), p. 1, n. 1, N. Marr et M. Brière, *La langue géorgienne* (Paris, 1931), p. vii. *Kartlos* is the eponymous hero of the Georgians. See Brosset, *op. cit.*, Part I, p. 17. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London, 1932), p. 16.

ally identical with the data on the same period found in Arabian, Armenian, and Byzantine historians.<sup>1</sup> The result of Djanashvili's investigation is of very great significance for the question at hand; since we know now that this portion of the Georgian historico-geographical compilation was written by an eyewitness, we may regard this source as reliable and trustworthy for the events connected with the foundation of the Empire. The anonymous Georgian points out a very interesting fact: the seizure by the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius Angelus, of rich charities sent by Thamar to some monasteries situated in the basin of the Aegean and Mediterranean. In revenge Thamar helped Alexius Comnenus to take possession of Trebizond. Although an eyewitness and contemporary of this fact, the anonymous Georgian erroneously calls Alexius Comnenus a son of Andronicus.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND

Based upon all the available sources which we have considered above, we may draw the following picture of the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond.

Two brothers, Alexius and David, sons of the *sebastocrator* Manuel and grandsons of the Emperor Andronicus I Comnenus (1182-1185), successfully escaped from Constantinople during the revolution of 1185 which resulted in the violent deaths of their father and grandfather. At that time the brothers were infants: Alexius was born in 1182;<sup>3</sup> his younger brother, David, must have been born shortly after, at any rate before 1185. The surmise of Finlay and Fischer is absolutely incredible that Alexius and David, hidden in Constantinople, were brought up there neglected and forgotten by the imperial court until the Crusaders besieged Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> Isaac Angelus carefully organized the complete extermination of the Comnenian family, and he knew well that Andronicus' two grandsons existed; he would never have permitted them to live in the capital unmolested. For them to remain in hiding for eighteen or nineteen years was absolutely impossible.

How the two infant brothers escaped from the terrorized and unrelentingly guarded Constantinople is unknown. If their mother was a Georgian princess, which is possible, she may have managed to save them. Doubtless they fled to Georgia by sea, perhaps on one of the ships prepared by Andronicus against the Normans. The Queen of Georgia, Thamar, was their close relative, according to Panaretos their paternal aunt.<sup>5</sup> The fugitives arrived in Georgia in the first years of the reign of Thamar, who had been associated in the government in 1178 with

<sup>1</sup> Djanashvili, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124 (in Russian). See also Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 314 (he made use of Djanashvili's study). It is worthy of notice that in 1859 Bartholomaei remarked that the Georgian chronicler was probably a contemporary of the foundation of the Trapezuntine Empire (*Lettres numismatiques*, p. 57).

<sup>2</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 464-465.

<sup>3</sup> M. Panaretos, ed. Lambros, §1, p. 266: In 1204 Alexius ἐρώων ὡν κρῖ.

<sup>4</sup> Finlay, *op. cit.*, IV, 317-318 and n. 1 on p. 318. W. Fischer, 'Trapezunt und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte,' *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Geschichte*, III (1886), 23. See above.

<sup>5</sup> Panaretos, ed. Lambros, §1, p. 266. The relationship of Thamar to the Comnenian family has not been definitely established; therefore Panaretos' reference to Thamar as the paternal aunt of Alexius and David is not entirely clear.

her father, George (Giorgi) III, and ascended the throne as sole ruler in 1184.<sup>1</sup>

We have no information whatever on the life of the two princes in Georgia till 1204, when they set out on the expedition against Trebizond. At that time, as we know, Alexius was twenty-two years of age, and his brother David twenty or twenty-one. Their childhood and youth were passed at the court of Thamar. In Georgia they had received their education and military training. Georgian became their native tongue. Probably some Greeks were among their attendants in order that they might be familiar with the language of their own country, which they had left at so early an age.<sup>2</sup> By the year 1204 the two young Comnenian princes were thoroughly Georgian in language and education as well as in political ideals, which were reflections of Thamar's. It is hardly possible to suppose that in the period preceding the year 1204 Alexius and David seriously dreamed of the Byzantine throne; they were forced to take part in Thamar's imperialistic external policy and to follow her plans and directions. And her plans did not go as far as Constantinople. For so daring an enterprise Thamar had neither troops nor means enough, and from her practical point of view such an expedition would have been useless.<sup>3</sup> But her attitude towards the Angeli, who at that time were ruling in Byzantium, could not be friendly; closely related to the Comneni, she could not forget that their line had been dethroned and destroyed under the Angeli. An event made relations still tenser.

Religiously minded, Thamar had the habit of bestowing alms on monasteries and churches not only in her own country but also all over the Near East. Her charities were generous. According to a Georgian *Synodicon*, some monks from a distance whose cells had been burned appealed to her and were given twenty ducats and two crosses each of which cost more than twenty ducats; in addition they received twenty gold coins (*perpers*) to restore an irrigating canal, build a mill, and plant a kitchen-garden.<sup>4</sup> On one occasion monks from the Black Mountain, near Antioch, from the island of Cyprus, from Mount Athos, and from other places who had been granted alms by Thamar came as usual to receive charity. Thamar welcomed them, according to a Georgian chronicle, 'as angels,' treated them generously and abundantly satisfied their needs. Finally she gave large sums of money to those monks who were from remote countries for themselves as well as for distribution among different monasteries.<sup>5</sup> On their way to Thamar and on their return, these monks had to pass through Constantinople. The Emperor Alexius III Angelus, learning of their arrival, confiscated Thamar's gifts. A Georgian *Synodicon* notes that the generous gifts sent by Thamar 'have not reached us because of wicked swinish men.'<sup>6</sup> Irritated by the action of Alexius Angelus, Thamar, according to the Georgian chronicler, sent the monks still larger sums.<sup>7</sup> Alexius' hostile act was a good pretext for Thamar to undertake her expedition against Trebizond.

<sup>1</sup> See Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kunik, *op. cit.*, p. 726.

<sup>3</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, I, 464.

<sup>7</sup> Brosset, *op. cit.*, I, 465.

<sup>2</sup> See Kunik, *op. cit.*, pp. 726-727.

<sup>4</sup> Djanashvili, *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

This episode, which is told by a contemporary Georgian source,<sup>1</sup> occurred before July of 1203. On July 18 the Crusaders took possession of Constantinople for the first time and deposed Alexius III Angelus who abandoned the capital and fled, taking with him the public treasure and jewels; probably among those treasures were the gifts and alms which Thamar had given the Eastern monks and which Alexius had seized. Isaac II Angelus, brother of Alexius III, was restored to the throne, and his son Alexius IV was proclaimed his co-regent. But a few months later an insurrection burst out in the capital and at the outset of 1204 the son-in-law of the deposed Alexius III, Alexius Ducas Mourtzouphlos, was proclaimed emperor. Isaac II and Alexius IV were deposed and soon died violent deaths. The Crusaders, who had pitched their camp in the suburbs of the capital, resolved to seize the city for themselves. On April 13, 1204, Constantinople fell under the power of the Crusaders, who in the place of the Byzantine Empire established the Latin Empire.

Thus Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders for the first time on July 18, 1203 and for the second time on April 13, 1204. Alexius Comnenus took possession of Trebizond in April, 1204.<sup>2</sup> From these dates it is obvious that Alexius' taking of Trebizond was not the result of the fall of Constantinople on April 13, 1204; there was not sufficient time to receive in Georgia the news of the second fall of the Byzantine capital, to organize the expedition, and to seize Trebizond.<sup>3</sup> More probably, the first fall of Constantinople on July 18, 1203, which brought about the overthrow of Alexius III Angelus and the restoration of his blind brother Isaac II to the throne, might have seemed to Thamar an auspicious moment for carrying out her project to avenge the loss of her alms. The first fall of Constantinople might have been the final incentive for undertaking the expedition. Thamar, wishing to harass the Angeli, could see that their nearest vulnerable point of certain importance was Trebizond, very loosely connected with the central government of Constantinople. The expedition to Trebizond was the personal achievement of Thamar; she organized it and put Alexius Comnenus at its head. His younger brother David also took part in the enterprise. Bartholomaei writes that this expedition was 'the most important act of the whole reign of Thamar, so fruitful in great things.'<sup>4</sup> But at that moment she had no idea what-

<sup>1</sup> This episode is an historical fact, so that I cannot agree with Bartholomaei (*op. cit.*, p. 57) that the motive alleged by the Georgian chronicler seems puerile and is only an invention of a narrow-minded Georgian monk.

<sup>2</sup> Some Georgian genealogical records contain the erroneous information that Thamar granted Trebizond either to Andronicus or to Alexius Comnenus, Andronicus' son, in 1198. This date is wrong, and the first ruler of Trebizond was neither Andronicus nor his son, but his grandson. See Kunik, *op. cit.*, pp. 789-791.

<sup>3</sup> Brosset (*Additions et éclaircissements*, p. 207) is inexact in stating that 'in 1204 Thamar learns of the taking of Constantinople by the Crusaders, and helps Alexius Comnenus to take possession of Trebizond.'

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomaei, *op. cit.*, p. 57: 'c'est l'acte le plus important de tout son règne, si fécond en grandes choses.' He erroneously states that Panaretos attributes the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond to Thamar and to David of Georgia, whom Bartholomaei calls Comneni (p. 57). Panaretos, as we have seen, does not mention David, Thamar's husband, when he refers to the foundation of the Empire.

ever of founding an empire. 'A detachment of Georgian (*Imeret*) soldiers'<sup>1</sup> given by Thamar to Alexius for taking Trebizond does not suggest a great military campaign; originally this undertaking was a sort of punitive expedition connected with Thamar's general policy of expansion.

Another question arises in connection with the foundation of the Empire of Trebizond. How did Alexius' expedition reach Trebizond? It could not have been a naval undertaking. In Thamar's time Georgia hardly had a port on the Black Sea, her capital Tiflis being too far away from the shore. True, the port of Poti (Greek *Phasis*) existed in Mingrelia, and the great territorial Georgian princes of Mingrelia, the Dadiani, enjoying a rather loose autonomy, were yet under Thamar's strong hand. But it is improbable that the body of Georgians sent to Trebizond by the queen sailed from Poti; the more so as there is no evidence whatever for the naval character of the expedition. Panaretos plainly states that Alexius set out on his march (*ἐκστρατεύσας*) from Georgia. The Georgian chronicler listing the names of the places which were conquered by Alexius gives them in good geographical order, saying that Alexius first occupied Lazica, and then proceeded to Trebizond; in other words, the expedition reached Trebizond via Lazica. We have information that it was eight days' journey by land from Tiflis to Trebizond;<sup>2</sup> but it is not clear by which route. A very well known road leading to Trebizond was the one from Garin-Theodosiopolis-Erzerum (Arzen-er-Rum = a district or fortress of the Romans; a name applied to this city since the eleventh century; the Kalikala of the Arab writers). In a popular song about Thamar we read: 'I [Thamar] have leased Erzerum and imposed tribute upon Ispahan.' On this text Djanashvili remarks: 'Popular memory has here pointed out a historical event: the advance of Georgian troops towards Arzen (Erzerum) in order to create the Empire of Trebizond.'<sup>3</sup> According to this very plausible hypothesis Alexius marched on Trebizond from the south; following the road from Erzerum, he traversed Lazica from south to north.

#### THE PARTITIO ROMANIAE AND TREBIZOND

The so-called *Partitio Romaniae*, a most interesting document showing how the new possessions of the Crusaders were divided among their leaders, unfortunately is undated. The division was made several months after the election of the first Latin emperor, Baldwin, which occurred on May 9, 1204. We may plausibly conclude that the act of division was drawn up in the autumn of 1204, at the beginning of October.<sup>4</sup>

There is no mention in the *Partitio Romaniae* of Trebizond, which had already been taken by Alexius Comnenus and hence was regarded by the Crusaders as no longer belonging to the former Byzantine Empire. David, Alexius' brother, as we shall see later, undertook in 1205 a temporarily victorious campaign west-

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 465: 'elle fit partir un détachement de soldats imers.'

<sup>2</sup> See W. Tomaschek, 'Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter,' *Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Philos.-hist. Classe, CXXIV (1891), 81.

<sup>3</sup> Djanashvili, *Kartlis Tskhovreba*, pp. 184, 186.

<sup>4</sup> On the dating of this document see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, tr. F. Raynaud, I (Leipzig, 1923), 269 and n. 2. E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, I (Homburg v. d. Höhe, 1905), 29-30.



ward which resulted in the occupation of territory as far west of Trebizond as Pontic Heraclea; but since this was not yet begun in 1204, all the regions which David took in 1205 were included in the Partitio and assigned to the Latin Emperor. The regions mentioned are as follows: 'The province of Paphlagonia and the Bucellarians. The province of Oinaion, Sinope, and Pabrei.'<sup>1</sup> Another district which for many centuries had been connected with the Byzantine Empire is not mentioned in the Partitio, the Byzantine dependencies in the Crimea, i.e., Cherson and some places along the southern coast of the Peninsula. Several years ago I tried to show that about 1198, or perhaps between 1192 and 1198, the Byzantine possessions in the Crimea were already out of the control of the Empire, and were dependent upon Trebizond; hence it is not at all surprising that they are not included in the document of 1204.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately we are unaware how and when the Crimea became dependent upon Trebizond; but probably this dependence was established during the period of the gradual secession of Trebizond from Constantinople, so that when Alexius Comnenus founded the Empire of Trebizond, he also inherited the Crimea. The Trapezuntine emperor became the suzerain of Cherson as well as of Crimean Gothia.

MILITARY SUCCESES OF DAVID COMNENUS AND HIS VASSALAGE TO  
THE LATIN EMPEROR (1205-1206)

In April, 1204, Alexius took possession of Trebizond, apparently without meeting strong resistance. His brother David accompanied him.

The two brothers evidently differed in character. After seizing Trebizond, Alexius in accordance with Thamar's original idea seems to have had no plans of further expansion; he remained in or near Trebizond. A contemporary source (Nicetas Choniates) compares him to Hylas, a mythical member of the expedition of the Argonauts, who landed on the coast of Mysia to fetch water for Heracles, and for his beauty was drawn down into the well by the Naiads and never seen again.<sup>3</sup> For the time being, Alexius seems to have refrained from any ambitious undertakings and held himself aloof and, like Hylas, 'invisible.'

Meanwhile his energetic and impetuous brother David opened an offensive westward along the coast on a large scale.<sup>4</sup> Proclaiming himself Alexius' 'fore-

<sup>1</sup> G. L. Fr. Tafel et G. M. Thomas, *Fontes rerum austriacarum, Zweite Abtheilung, Diplomata et acta*, XII, 1 (Vienna, 1856), 476: 'Provincia Paphlagonie et Vucellarii. Provincia Oenei et Sinopii et Pabrei.' The latter name means the city of Pontus, *Pauraë* or *Paurae*.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, in the *Izvestija* (Accounts) of the State Academy of the History of Material Culture, v (Leningrad, 1927), 273-281 (in Russian). An English edition of this work will shortly be published by the Mediaeval Academy of America.

<sup>3</sup> There is a Greek proverb, "Ὅταν κρῶν γάξῃ", which means 'to call in vain, without being heard.' On Hylas see an article in Pauly-Wissowa, IX (1916), coll. 110-115.

<sup>4</sup> If I correctly understand Nicetas Choniates' fulsome panegyric on Theodore Lascaris, David is represented as 'a false [pseudonymous] David' instead of 'the real David of Nicaea,' an effeminate 'youth nurtured in the shade,' a 'lad thrown up on the shores of Pontus, like flotsam cast up by a wave of the sea,' etc. Sathas, *Bibl. graeca, medii aevi*, I (Venice, 1872), 119, 126. W. Miller (*op. cit.*, p. 18) refers this description to Alexius, and I agree that it seems more appropriate to him than to David. But since Nicetas puns upon the name of the Biblical David, he probably had in mind David Comnenus rather than Alexius. I have used Miller's translation for the passages from Nicetas. See also Meliarakis, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

runner and herald<sup>1</sup> and hiring more Georgian mercenaries, he entered Pontus where, as we have pointed out above, Andronicus, his grandfather, had been governor for a time, favorably preparing the way for David as a representative of the Comnenian family. He took possession consecutively of the flourishing commercial city of Kerasunt, the important city of Oinaion (Onio, Honio, Oeneum, Lanio),<sup>2</sup> possibly the former residence of Andronicus,<sup>3</sup> and Limnia (Liminia, Limona, Limina), a seaport which was to become a very well known center of the Empire of Trebizond, as the favorite station for the imperial fleet and one of the forts of the Empire.<sup>4</sup> After Limnia he seized Samsun (Amisos, Aminos, Simisso) and Sinope; the latter town may also once have been the residence of Andronicus. Here David entered Paphlagonia, where the ancestral castle of the Comneni was situated at Kastamon (now Kastamuni) on the river Gök-Irmak, a tributary of Kizyl-Irmak.<sup>5</sup> Under Isaac Angelus (1185-1195) a pretender to the throne had appeared in Paphlagonia, assuming the name of Alexius (Comnenus), a Pseudoalexius; he succeeded in uniting several districts under his power, but he was finally defeated and slain by Isaac's general, Theodore Khumnos.<sup>6</sup> Hence Paphlagonia was ready to welcome David. There he augmented his troops by enlisting a number of inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> Pursuing his victorious advance westward, always along the coast, he captured Kytoros (Cytoro, now Kidros), and the important port of Amastris (Amastra, Samastro), and finally took possession of a very thriving commercial fort, Pontic Heraclea ('Ηρακλεία ἢ Ποντικὴ, ἢ Ποντηρακλεία, Ponterachia, in Turkish Erekli or Bende-regli). The whole territory of Pontus and Paphlagonia now belonged to David.<sup>8</sup> Heraclea was no limit to his ambitious pretensions. From there he sent his young

<sup>1</sup> Nic. Acom., p. 828: 'πρόδρομος ἐκείνου καὶ προκήρυξ ἐγένετο.'

<sup>2</sup> The importance of Oinaion is also shown in the *Partitio Romaniae* a. 1204, where we read: 'Provincia Oenei et Sinopii et Pabrei.' G. Tafel et G. Thomas, *Fontes rerum austriacarum. Diplomata et acta*, XII (Vienna, 1856), 476. See Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien*, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> See above.

<sup>4</sup> On Limnia see a special chapter in Th. Uspensky, *Outlines of the History of the Empire of Trebizond* (Leningrad, 1929), pp. 90-99 (in Russian). Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 80. Uspensky did not make use of Tomaschek's study.

<sup>5</sup> Nicephori Bryennii lib. II, 26: '(Alexius Comnenus) περὶ δὲ τὴν Κασταμόνα γενόμενος ἐπεθύμησε τὴν τοῦ πάππου οἰκίαν ἰδεῖν' (Bonn., p. 93). Cedrenus, II, 622: 'ἐν Παφλαγονίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Κασταμόνα οἶκος δὲ ἡ Κασταμών τοῦ Ἰσαακίου μαγίστρου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ.' See Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène* (Paris, 1900), p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Nic. Chon., p. 533. See Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 66. Cognasso, *Un imperatore bizantino della decadenza. Isacco II Angelo* (Rome, 1915), p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Nic. Chon., p. 828: 'ὁ δ' ἐκ Κομνηνῶν Δαβιδὸς στρατολογήσας Παφλαγόνιας, καὶ οἱ τὴν Ποντικὴν οἰκῶσιν Ἡράκλειαν καὶ μοῖραν μισθωσάμενος Ἰβήρων τῶν πινόντων τοῦ Φάσιδος.'

<sup>8</sup> The most detailed and correct list of the cities conquered by David is given by the contemporary Georgian Anonymus. See Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 465. The Georgian Anonymus gives the names of the cities in the order of their consecutive occupation. Kerasunt only is misplaced in this source; instead of coming between Sinope and Kytoros (Cythora) it should be inserted between Trebizond and Oinaion. On all these cities see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-81. Nic. Chon., p. 842 (he gives the names of Oinaion and Sinope). The Georgian chronicler and Nicetas also mention David's occupation of Pontus and Paphlagonia. *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, §7; ed. Bonn., p. 14; ed. Heisenberg, I (1903), 12: 'Παφλαγονίας δὲ πάσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Δαβιδὸς ἀδελφὸς ὢν Ἀλεξίου τοῦ τῆς Τραπεζούντος κρατήσαντος' Anonymus, in Sathas, VII, 453. Ephraemius, ed. Bonn., p. 304, 1.7522: '(ἦρχε) Δαβιδὸς Κομνηνὸς Παφλαγονίας ὄλης.'

and inexperienced general Synadenos to occupy Nicomedia on the shores of the Gulf of Nicomedia (Ismit) in the Sea of Marmora. At that time Nicomedia, which had recently been evacuated by the Latins, formed part of the Nicene Empire. But, as W. Miller says, 'Synadenos was no match for the abler Lascaris,'<sup>1</sup> who refused tamely to submit to the loss of Nicomedia. Theodore Lascaris led Synadenos to believe that he was taking an easy and usual route; but he led his troops through a rough and difficult pass, surprised Synadenos, and put his forces to flight; Synadenos himself, like a miserable sparrow 'flapping its wings in vain,'<sup>2</sup> became Theodore's captive. After this defeat David was forced to recognize Heraclea as the westward limit of his possessions.<sup>3</sup> These conflicts between Theodore and David took place in all probability in 1205.<sup>4</sup> Bury remarks: 'The Comneni never made common cause with the Emperors of Nicaea against the common enemies, either Turks or Latins.'<sup>5</sup> David as his brother's 'forerunner and herald' had occupied so many places that Alexius apparently took advantage of his brother's successes and gave up his policy of aloofness. For administration, the new territory was divided between the two brothers; in addition to Trebizond and its environs, Alexius took possession of the regions as far west as Oinaion and Sinope, that is the former Pontus, and David became ruler of Pontic Heraclea and Paphlagonia.<sup>6</sup> With patriotic ardor, after enumerating all the cities and provinces taken by the Georgian forces, the Georgian chronicler concludes that Tamar gave them to her relative Alexius Comnenus.<sup>7</sup> From the point of view of Byzantine provincial administration, the possessions of Alexius and David comprised the territory of the theme of Chaldia with the capital of Trebizond, and some sections of the themes Armeniaci with Amisos (Samsun), Paphlagonia with Sinope, and the Bucellarians with Pontic Heraclea.

Lascaris was evidently not content with making David return to Heraclea; he wished to drive him still farther east. Probably in the spring of 1206<sup>8</sup> Lascaris resolved to expel David from Heraclea; and he managed to make Plousias secede from David, a city famous for its archers and warlike spirit<sup>9</sup> near Heraclea, so

<sup>1</sup> W. Miller, *Trebizond, The Last Greek Empire* (London, 1926), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Nicetas Choniates, *Panegyric of Theodore Lascaris*, in Sathas, *Bibl. graeca mediæ aevi*, I (Venice, 1872), 116: 'τὸν μὲν στρατηγούτα μείρακα, ὅσα καὶ στρουθίου λεληκός οἰκτρὸν καὶ μάτην πτερυγίζον συνέληφας.'

<sup>3</sup> Nic. Chon., p. 828: 'καὶ τὸν Δαβίδ μὴ περαιτέρω προΐεναι τῆς Ποντικῆς Ἡρακλείας παρέπεισε.' Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 61. Finlay, *op. cit.*, IV, 322-324. Sathas, *op. cit.*, I, 115-116. See also 'A. Μηλιαράκης, Ἱστορία τοῦ Βασιλείου τῆς Νικαίας . . . (Athens, 1898), pp. 44-45. E. Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel*, I (Homburg, v. d. Höhe, 1905), 103-104. A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London, 1912), p. 75. W. Miller, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> See Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 104, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gibbon (Bury), VI, 420, n. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Nicet. Chon., p. 842: 'ὁ μὲν (David) τὴν κατὰ Πόντον Ἡράκλειαν καὶ Παφλαγονίαν διέειπε, ὁ δ' Ἀλέξιος Οἰναίου τε καὶ Σινωπέων τῆς πόλεως καὶ Τραπεζούντος αὐτῆς τὴν δυναστείαν περιεζώνυτο.'

<sup>7</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 465.

<sup>8</sup> On this dating see Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 107 and n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Nic. Chon., p. 844: 'τῆς μὲν Πλουσιᾶδος ἐπίβη καὶ τῆς πρὸς Δαβίδ φίλλας ἱκέτην ἀπίστησε, τοξότιδα πᾶσαν ὄσαν καὶ μάχιμον.' On Plousias see Th. L. F. Tafel, *Symbolarum criticarum geographiam byzantinam spectantium partes duae. Pars posterior*, in *Abhandlungen der Hist. Classe der K. Bayer. Ak. der Wissenschaften*, v (1849), Dritte Abtheilung, 102 (explicatio, 48). Tafel et Thomas. *op. cit.*, Dipl. et acta. I Theil. p. 475, n. 5. Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

that Heraclea was in a very dangerous position. According to Nicetas Choniates, Lascaris would have taken Heraclea and put David to flight, had not the latter come to an agreement with the Latins, who at Lascaris' rear seized Nicomedia and thus diverted Theodore's attention from Heraclea. But the Latins soon retired to Europe before another Bulgarian invasion. To reward the Latins for their aid, David sent to Constantinople shiploads of corn and hams. At the same time he begged that the Latins would include him as their subject in their correspondence and treaties with Lascaris, and look upon all his land as Latin territory.<sup>1</sup> 'It was his interest to prefer a nominal Latin suzerainty to annexation by the Nicene Emperor.'<sup>2</sup> Since early in 1205 the Latins pressed by the Bulgars had evacuated all Asia Minor, except the city of Pegai, where they had left a garrison, David for the time being could not count on much aid from them.<sup>3</sup>

But relying on the Latin support of about three hundred auxiliaries David reopened hostilities. He crossed the Sangarios river (the modern Sakaria), pillaged some villages subject to Lascaris, and harshly punished Plousias which had seceded from him; he took some of the inhabitants as hostages and put some in prison. Several days later he withdrew. But the Franks, advancing from the plain into the hilly country, were suddenly surprised by Andronicus Gidos, a general of Lascaris, in the 'Rough Passes' of Nicomedia<sup>4</sup> and thoroughly defeated; those who remained alive were captured in the mountains by Andronicus' ambushes, so that scarcely a man was left to tell the disaster to David.<sup>5</sup> Punning on the name of the 'Rough Passes' of Nicomedia, Nicetas Choniates declares that Lascaris made 'the rough ways' causeways.<sup>6</sup>

#### SABBAS OF SAMSUN

Before continuing the history of the beginning of the Empire of Trebizond, I must finally do away with an historical error of long standing which has perplexed many scholars, including myself. Our Greek sources report that among the Greek rivals of Theodore Lascaris at the very beginning of his rule at Nicaea was a certain Sabbas, ruler of Sampson and its neighborhood.<sup>7</sup> Sampson, Sabbas' city, has always been identified with Amisos or Samsun, on the Black Sea, which under the rule of Sabbas formed an enclave in the territory of Alexius and David, and interrupted the continuity of their possessions on the Black Sea. When and how Sabbas succeeded in seizing Amisos (Samsun), which, as we have noted above, had been taken by David, and how Theodore Lascaris dared to undertake so distant an expedition in the northeast when his rule was in its first or second year and still unstable, has always been a puzzle for historians. Now, owing to a brilliant article by G. de Jerphanion, this historical riddle is definitely solved.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nic. Chon., pp. 844-845.

<sup>2</sup> W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> See Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Nicetas Chon., p. 845: 'ἐπελθόντος δ' αὐτοῖς ἀπροόπτως περὶ τὰς τῆς Νικομηδίας Τραχείας Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Γίδου.'

<sup>5</sup> Nic. Chon., p. 845. Also his Panegyric, in Sathas, *op. cit.*, I, 126-127.

<sup>6</sup> Sathas, I, 126: 'τὰς τραχείας ποπέλας εἰς τροχιάς εὐθείας διατιθέμενος'. See W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> See Georg. Acrop., *Hist.* VII, ed. Bonn, p. 14; ed. Heisenberg, I, 12: 'ἕτερος δὲ Σάββας τοῦτικλην τοῦ Ἰσσοῦ ἐδίσκοψε τοῦ Σαμψῶν μετὰ καὶ τῶν πλησίον τυγχανόνων αὐτῶν.' Ephraemius, p. 304, ll. 7518-7519.

<sup>8</sup> G. de Jerphanion S. I. Σαμψῶν et Ἄμισος. 'Une ville à déplacer de neuf cents kilomètres,' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, I (Rome, 1935), 257-267.

Sampson of Sabbas was a city on the western coast of Asia Minor, opposite Miletus, an ancient city of Priene, famous for its beautiful Hellenistic monuments. Facing Miletus, on the other side of the mouth of the river of Meander, across the alluvial plain which once was a gulf rises a mountain which the ancients called Mycale and the Turks of today call *Samsun Dagh*. At the foot of the south slope, fairly close to the actual course of Meander, about sixteen kilometers from Miletus, are the ruins of Priene and its acropolis. The miserable village which has succeeded the ancient city is called *Samsun Qalé*, i.e. the fortress of Samsun.<sup>1</sup> Thus Sabbas of Sampson had no connection whatever with Samsun on the Black Sea, and he must be eliminated from the history of Trebizond. We are indebted to G. de Jerphanion for clarifying this essential detail. In 1205 the continuity of the territories occupied by Alexius and David was not interrupted, though it existed only for a short time.

#### THEODORE LASCARIS' VICTORY OVER DAVID

After the defeat of David's allies, his situation at Heraclea again became dangerous. In September, 1208, his envoys appeared in the Balkan Peninsula before the city of Pamphylon, which at that time the Latin Emperor Henry was besieging with his troops. The envoys declared that Theodore Lascaris was so strongly pressing that if Henry did not help David he would lose his land. Henry, responding favorably to David's appeal, hastened to Constantinople with some troops, crossed the Bosphorus, and landed at Chalcedon. This movement of the Latin troops forced Lascaris to withdraw from Heraclea to Nicaea. But for the time being this manoeuvre was the end of the Latin campaign, and Henry returned to Constantinople with all his troops.<sup>2</sup>

The reinforcement from the Latin Emperor merely postponed the final collapse of David's ambitious plans. In 1214 Theodore took possession of Heraclea, Amastris, Kytoros, Kromna (Κρῶμνα, Cromena, Comena, Comana),<sup>3</sup> and all the surrounding country. For a time after this Sinope or perhaps Cape Korambis (Carambas, in Turkish Kerembe, Kerempeburun),<sup>4</sup> west of Sinope, was the westward limit of the Comnenian possessions in Asia Minor.<sup>5</sup> At Heraclea Theodore Lascaris received his own envoy, the Bishop of Ephesus, Nicholas Mesarites, who with a Spanish priest and an interpreter, came from Constantinople, where

<sup>1</sup> G. de Jerphanion, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266.

<sup>2</sup> Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'Empereur Henri*, ed. M. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1872), pp. 335-336, §§551-554 (in Wailly's edition of Villehardouin). See Gerland, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160; 210.

<sup>3</sup> On Kromna see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>4</sup> On Cape Korambis see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>5</sup> Georgii Acropolitae *Hist.*, II: 'περιεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόδωρος καὶ τοῦ τῆς Παφλαγονίας κρατοῦντος Δαυὶδ, καὶ Ἡράκλειαν παρεστήσατο καὶ Ἀμαστριν καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν περὶ τὰς χώρων καὶ τὰς πόλιναι' (ed. Heisenberg, I, 18). Anonymous, in Sathas, VII, 457. Ephraemius, ed. Bonn., p. 305, ll. 7531-7537 (he adds the names of *κίτωρος* and *κρῶμνα*). See Du Fresne Du Cange. *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les empereurs français*. Nouvelle édition revue par J. A. Buchon (Paris, 1826), p. 123 (Collection des chroniques nationales françaises. XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Cf. Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 92. Finlay, *op. cit.*, IV, 326; he says that Lascaris conquered Heraclea, Amastris, and Tios, making himself master of the whole country as far as Cape Carambis. The city of Tios, between Heraclea and Amastris, is mentioned by Pachymeres (I, 312); see Tomaschek, *op. cit.*, 77-78. Gerland, *op. cit.*, 246.

he had tried to establish closer intercourse between the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.<sup>1</sup>

THE CAPTURE OF SINOPE BY THE TURKS IN 1214 AND DAVID'S DEATH.  
ALEXIOUS AND THE TURKS

Theodore Lascaris' successful advance eastward, along the coast, not only threatened the political plans of David and Alexius; it also was extremely dangerous for the further development of the Sultanate of Rum, which in case of Lascaris' occupation of Sinope would lose a free outlet to the Black Sea. At that time Izz-ad-Din Kay Kawus I (1210-1219) was the Sultan of the Seljuqs. Foreseeing Lascaris' further movement eastward towards Sinope, the Sultan did not delay in attempting to obtain an outlet on the Black Sea.

As far as I may judge from our sources, the Turkish campaign against Sinope consisted of two episodes: the first capture of Sinope by the Turks, and the second. Unless Sinope was captured twice, it would be absolutely impossible to explain and reconcile the sources.<sup>2</sup>

Evidently in the summer or early in the autumn of 1214 Sinope was suddenly captured by the Turks, and David was slain. For this fact I use the brief record of a Christian Syrian chronicler of the thirteenth century, Gregory Abulfaragius or Barhabraeus, who states: 'In 611 of the hegira (May 13, 1214-May 1, 1215) the Sultan Izz-ad-Din Kay Kawus took possession of Sinope on the coast of the Pontic Sea, and slew its ruler Kyr-Alex.'<sup>3</sup> Abulfaragius made the mistake of saying that Alexius, not David, was slain; the name of Alexius, the first emperor of Trebizond, was of course more familiar to the Syrian historian than the name of his brother David, the real ruler of Sinope at that time. But since the name of David never occurs in the sources after 1214, we may positively conclude that it was David who was slain at the first Turkish capture of Sinope. This took place, as we have pointed out, either in the summer or early autumn of 1214.

Then we have an extremely important and detailed description of the further development of events around Sinope, compiled by a Persian historian, Nasir-ad-din-Yahya-ibn-Muhammed, known by his surname Ibn-al-Bibi, after his mother. Ibn-al-Bibi lived in the thirteenth century in the Sultanate of Rum; a young contemporary of the Sultan Ala-ad-din-Kay-Kubad I (1219-1236), he held a high post under his successors, and died in 1272. His very well known work *Seljuq-Naméh* is a source almost contemporary with the capture of Sinope; and its author, living in the Sultanate of Rum in Iconium, near the scene of hostilities

<sup>1</sup> Arsenius, 'An unpublished work of a certain metropolitan of Ephesus, of the thirteenth century,' *Čtenija v obščestve ljubitelci duhovnogo prosvetšenija*, xxix (Moscow, 1892), section III, p. 49 sq.; 78 (Greek text and a Russian translation). W. Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 222-223.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek sources are silent on the loss of Sinope. There are three Oriental sources: a Syrian, an Arabian, and a Persian. On these sources see below.

<sup>3</sup> Abulfaragius, Georgius, seu Barhebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. and transl. by P. Bruns and G. Kirsch (Leipzig, 1789), II, 469. I attribute this capture of Sinope to the summer or the early autumn of 1214 because (1) the year 611 of the hegira began May 13, 1214, and (2) as we shall see later, the second capture of Sinope took place on November 1, 1214. On the incorrect translation of this passage by Bruns see Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

against Sinope, must have been well acquainted with the events of that period.<sup>1</sup> *Seljuq-Naméh* is a history of the Seljuqs beginning with the end of the twelfth century (1192).

According to the detailed narrative of Ibn-al-Bibi,<sup>2</sup> in 1214 during the sojourn of the Sultan Izz-ad-din Kay Kawus at Sivas there came messengers from the chiefs who were in charge of defending the region of Sinope. They brought a sealed letter stating that Kyr-alk-si (Kyr Alexius, the Emperor of Trebizond) had illegally crossed the border of his own country, taken possession of a portion of the Sultan's land, and captured Sinope. The Sultan on reading the message was worried, but unwilling to cloud the cheer of the guests who were banqueting with him did not betray his feelings. Next day he questioned some men who had seen Sinope and were familiar with its position. They answered that Sinope could be taken by siege only if the inhabitants were pressed for food; but if the region were devastated and no aid came from the sea, the city could be easily taken. Next day the Sultan's troops took the field. Some spies had been sent ahead to get information on Alexius and the region of Sinope with orders to bring back news immediately. They declared that Alexius was hunting in those regions with five hundred horsemen and that daily without taking any precautions he caroused with his friends outdoors. The Turks seized Alexius on the very spot of his revelling and brought him to the camp of 'the God-protected army' (the Turks). Some of Alexius' horsemen were slain and some imprisoned. On the third day the Sultan proceeded to Sinope. Then he commanded Alexius to be brought before him in chains, in the imperial tent near the city. On approaching the throne Alexius 'kissed the earth in lowliness and humiliation,' and the Sultan treated him kindly. The Sultan proceeded to invest Sinope and suggested that Alexius send one of his confidants to the city to persuade the inhabitants to surrender. When the messenger entered the city, those 'dull witted and wicked people' answered him thus foolishly: 'Suppose Alexius has been captured. None the less he has grown sons in Trebizond who are capable of governing. We will elect one of them as our ruler and will not surrender the country to the Turks.' The second attempt to persuade the inhabitants of Sinope also failed. Then the infuriated Sultan had Alexius tortured in the sight of the inhabitants of Sinope several times. After new negotiations the inhabitants declared that if the Sultan would swear not to kill Alexius but to release him, and to spare their own lives and property and let them go where they pleased, they would be willing to surrender the city. The Sultan swore to these terms, but proposed the following conditions: Alexius should be his vassal and send to his treasury an annual trib-

<sup>1</sup> On Ibn-al-Bibi see *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, II, 391. A. Yakubovsky, 'Narration of Ibn-al-Bibi on the campaign of the Turks of Asia Minor upon Sudak, Polovtziens, and Russians at the outset of the thirteenth century, *Vizantiyski Vremennik*, xxv (1927-1928), 53-54 (in Russian). The complete original text of Ibn-al-Bibi has not yet been published; so far, only a Turkish translation and an abridged Persian version are available. The only manuscript of his complete work is to be found in Constantinople (*Aya Sofya N 2985*).

<sup>2</sup> I use the Russian translation of the Turkish version of *Seljuq-Naméh*, by P. Melioransky, 'Seljuq-Naméh as a source of the history of Byzantium in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,' *Viz. Vremennik*, I (1894), 632-637.

ute, besides as many troops as the Sultan needed; for his part, the Sultan pledged himself to recognize Alexius as ruler of the region west of Trebizond,<sup>1</sup> except Sinope, as well as of the region of Trebizond and Lazica, and to be gracious towards him. 'Otherwise there will be no quarter.' Sinope surrendered on the first of November 1214.<sup>2</sup> Solemnly the Sultan's standard was raised over the city. Before his official entrance to Sinope the Sultan gave a reception which lasted the whole night to which Alexius was invited. At the reception Alexius occupied a higher seat than any Turkish noble (*bek*). Then the Sultan made a solemn entrance and inspection of the city. According to the treaty, Alexius became the Sultan's vassal. We read in the treaty the following provisions: 'If the victorious Sultan Izz-ad-Din Kay Kawus-ibn-Kay Khusru spares my life, i.e., the life of Kyr Alexius, and recognizes my right and that of my descendants to possess the Empire of Djanita, except Sinope, with all the regions which belong to it, I pledge myself to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan of 12,000 gold coins, 500 horses, 2,000 cows, 10,000 sheep, and 50 bundles of various presents and jewelry.' After the document had been signed, the Sultan bestowed magnificent attire upon Alexius, a gold-embroidered robe and a ceremonial hat, as well as a well-trained and richly caparisoned horse with a gilded saddle and bridle. As the Sultan's vassal, Alexius shared in the ceremony when he rode out; he helped the Sultan to mount and walked before his horse. Finally, the Sultan ordered him to mount, and he rode by the Sultan's side and conversed with him. Then after a festival the Sultan allowed Alexius to leave for his own country taking with him any nobles whom he wished from the city. Ships had been prepared for them, and they sailed for Trebizond.

As to Sinope itself, fugitives were brought back to the city and provided with oxen, seeds, and land, so that they might resume agriculture. The principal church of the city was turned into a mosque. One of the Sultan's chiefs was appointed governor of Sinope; a Turkish garrison was installed; a new administration set to work; breaches in the walls were repaired. The Sultan then set out to Sivas.

With this detailed, vivid, and reliable account of Ibn-al-Bibi I connect a brief passage from an Arabian historian of the fourteenth century, Abulfeda, who under the same year, 1214 (611 year of the hegira = May 13, 1214–May 1, 1215) deals with the same event but introduces some confusion. Abulfeda's passage runs as follows: 'In this year the Turks captured the Emperor Al-Ashkari, who had killed Ghiyath-ad-din Kay Khusru; he was brought to his son, Kay Kawus-ibn-Khusru. The latter wished to kill him. But having obtained from his captive a large amount of money and the cession of many castles and cities which had never before belonged to the Muhammedans, he set him free.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibn-al-Bibi calls this region *Djanita*.

<sup>2</sup> On Saturday, Djumadah 11 26, 611 of the hegira (Melioransky, *op. cit.*, p. 635). M. Th. Houtsma, 'Over de Geschiedenis der Seldjuken van Klein-Azië,' *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde*, 3 Serie, IX (Amsterdam, 1893), 149; in 1214. Gerland (*op. cit.*, p. 246, n. 6) gives November 8, 1214.

<sup>3</sup> Abulfeda, *Annales Muslemici, arab. et latine* ed. Reiske, IV, 252–254 (Arabic); 253–255 (Latin). Also in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens orientaux*, I (Paris, 1872), 87.



In this account there is evident confusion as to the Emperor Al-Ashkari. It contains the tradition that Theodore Lascaris slew the Sultan of Rum in one of their clashes.<sup>1</sup> But Theodore Lascaris was never captured by the Sultan so that the name Al-Ashkari given by Abulfeda can be but a distorted Arab form of Alexius (Comnenus), Emperor of Trebizond. As Fallmerayer justly remarks, to Abulfeda, an Arabian historian who lived in Syria in the fourteenth century, the name of Lascaris might have been more familiar than that of Alexius of Trebizond.<sup>2</sup>

Combining the data of the three Oriental historians, Abulfaragius, Ibn-al-Bibi, and Abulfeda, we may draw the following conclusions: In the summer or early in the autumn of 1214 Sinope was taken by the Sultan of Rum, Izz-ad-Din, and David Comnenus, the ruler of Sinope, was slain. When the tidings of this disaster reached Trebizond, Alexius, forgetting his former vacillations, hastened to the lost city and regained it. Izz-ad-Din undertook a decisive campaign upon Sinope, captured Alexius on one of his hunting parties, and blockaded the city, which surrendered on the first of November, 1214. Finally, the Sultan dismissed Alexius to Trebizond on the conditions listed above. Thereupon the Empire of Trebizond became a sort of vassal state to the Sultanate of Iconium or Rum.

After the loss of Sinope, the western frontier of the Empire of Trebizond was limited 'by the Rivers Iris and Thermodon, the modern Jeshil Yrmak and Terme, only 155 miles in a straight line from the capital.'<sup>3</sup>

We do not know what relations Alexius and David established with Thamar, who sponsored the campaign upon Trebizond and was the leading spirit of the enterprise. Georgian troops and mercenaries took part in the expedition. But when we consider the military activities of David and the attitude of Alexius towards the Seljuq Turks, we can trace no hint of particular consideration for Thamar; they acted as rulers absolutely independent of her ascendancy. The Empire of Trebizond, a child of Thamar's imperialistic policy, forgot its moral obligations towards the mother country, Georgia. As long as Thamar lived, relations between the two countries probably remained more or less passable. But after her death in 1212, circumstances changed. Her son and successor, George IV Lasha (1212-1223), during one of his campaigns reached the upper Mktvari river (Kura) and stopped in Cola (Kola) close to the eastern border of Lazika, which was under the sway of the Trapezuntine Emperor; according to the Georgian chronicles, 'tributaries arrived from Khlat and Greece with presents.'<sup>4</sup> Khlat or Akhlat is a town with the surrounding territory on the north western shores of Lake Van. But what is Greece? I am inclined to believe that the Georgian chronicler referred to the Greek ruler of Trebizond, Alexius I, who for

<sup>1</sup> Georg. Acropol., 10 (ed. Heisenberg, I, 17). See Miliarakis, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98. Finlay follows him (*op. cit.*, iv, 326, n. 3); see also Alice Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 83, n. 3, and p. 87, n. 1. Cf. Meliarakis, *op. cit.*, p. 130. Besides Abulfeda, an Arabian historian of the fifteenth century, Makrizi, who lived in Egypt, also mentions a complete victory of the Sultan Izz-ad-Din over Lascaris. E. Blochet, 'Histoire d'Egypte de Makrizi,' *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, ix (1902), 155. Blochet's note to Makrizi's passage is rather misleading, being based on E. Muralt, *Essai de chronographie byzantine*, II (Bâle-Geneva, 1871), 315.

<sup>3</sup> W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, 484.

his possession of Lazica was compelled to send George Lasha presents to dispel his menacing attitude.<sup>1</sup> Unlike Thamar, George Lasha could not reconcile himself to the independent existence of the Empire whose origin was due to his own country.

Alexius died at the age of forty-three after a reign of eighteen years, on the first Sunday in Lent (Sunday of Orthodoxy), February 1, 1222.<sup>2</sup>

The reign of the first Trapezuntine Emperor may be summarized as follows. When the expedition to seize Trebizond started from Georgia, neither Thamar nor her protégés, Alexius and David, had any idea of undertaking a campaign west to retake Constantinople from the Latins. After the capture of Trebizond the difference in the character of the brothers made itself obvious. While Alexius remained in Trebizond, David, in his daring and successful campaign westwards in 1205, reached Nicomedia on the shores of the Sea of Marmora; at that time, no doubt, David had already set himself the goal of taking possession of Constantinople and restoring the Byzantine Empire, and he was on the point of carrying out his ambitious plan. Seeing David's success, Alexius also was seized with the idea of driving the Latins out of Constantinople. The energetic policy of Theodore Lascaris of Nicaea overturned their plans and deceived their hopes. David was forced to open negotiations with his former enemy, the Latin Emperor, sought for his aid, and in 1206 declared himself his vassal. After this the Trapezuntine Comneni abandoned all plans against Constantinople. Western aid, however, was not strong enough to release them from the Nicene danger. Theodore Lascaris drove David east and probably would have decisively overcome him had not the Turkish Sultan, Izz-ad-Din, taken part in their rivalry. Anxious to get an outlet on the Black Sea, the Sultan took possession of Sinope in 1214. David was slain, and Alexius, captured by the Sultan, compelled to pay tribute to him and render him military service; in other words, in 1214 the Empire of Trebizond became a vassal state to the Sultanate of Iconium. The capture of Sinope by Izz-ad-Din cut off the Trapezuntine Empire from the Nicaean and Latin Empires. Henceforth for a considerable time, Trapezuntine foreign policy, disconnected from the west of Asia Minor, was limited to relations with Iconium and Georgia. When Alexius' reign ended, he was a vassal to the Sultan of Iconium, and he had presented gifts to George IV Lasha, King of Georgia.

#### THE TITLE OF THE EMPERORS OF TREBIZOND

The question of what title the first ruler of Trebizond and his successors assumed is not devoid of interest.<sup>3</sup>

Du Cange wrote that those are in error who ascribe the imperial title to Alexius,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Fallmerayer, *Geschichte*, pp. 59-60. Fallmerayer confounds events, believing that Thamar died in 1202 and that George Lasha was reigning in 1204 (see p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> Michael Panaretos, ed. Lambros, I (p. 266): 'και βασιλεύσας δεκτωκαίδεκα, έκοιμήθη Φεβρουαριου α', ημέρα α' της 'Ορθοδοξίας, έτους ψψλ', έτών γινομένων τεσσαράκοντα.'

<sup>3</sup> The best account so far written on the title of the rulers of Trebizond is found in Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, chapter 3, pp. 63-84.

because as many state, 'Emperor' was first usurped by his grandson John;<sup>1</sup> as we have already noted above, Du Cange incorrectly believed that Alexius Comnenus with the title of Duke had governed Trebizond during the rule of the Constantinopolitan emperors, i.e., under the Angeli before 1204. Following Du Cange, Gibbon asserted that 'by the indulgence of the Angeli, Alexius was appointed governor or duke of Trebizond; his birth gave him ambition, the revolution independence; and without changing his title he reigned in peace from Sinope to the Phasis . . . the title of Emperor was first assumed by the pride and envy of the grandson of Alexius.'<sup>2</sup> The conclusions of Du Cange and Gibbon were founded on a passage of the learned French encyclopaedist of the thirteenth century, Vincent de Beauvais (died in 1264), who in his *Speculum Historiale* mentions that about 1240 'the lord (*Dominus*) of Trebizond used to give him (i.e., the Sultan of Iconium) 200 lances' or a specified number of soldiers.<sup>3</sup> Since Vincent de Beauvais called the ruler of Trebizond not Emperor but *Dominus*, Du Cange and Gibbon came to the conclusion that in the thirteenth century the rulers of Trebizond did not bear the title of Emperor. But I doubt if this conclusion can be justified, because the French writer of the thirteenth century may have been unaware of the existence of the Greek title of *basileus* (emperor) assumed by the rulers of Trebizond; moreover, *Dominus* means lord, absolute monarch, entirely corresponding to *basileus*.

It is not to be believed that after seizing Trebizond Alexius, who belonged to the notable Comnenian family, would have contented himself with the title of Duke which the governors of Trebizond had once borne as mere representatives of the Constantinopolitan emperors. Nor would Alexius have recognized the imperial title of the Latin Emperor, who in Alexius' eyes, was in 1204 a usurper and intruder. As to the Lascarids in Nicaea, Theodore Lascaris by descent was no equal for Alexius Comnenus.

True, most Byzantine writers, such as Nicetas Choniates, George Acropolita, Pachymeres, Nicephorus Gregoras, Ephraemius, and the Anonymous published by Sathas, do not call the rulers of Trebizond emperors. As has been noted above, in his Panegyric to Theodore Lascaris, Nicetas Choniates called Alexius and David the 'fools' of Trebizond, and David an effeminate 'youth nurtured in the shade,' 'offscouring cast up by a wave of the sea,' etc. But all these writers were closely connected with the Lascarids of Nicaea and later with the Palaeologi. For them, representatives of these two dynasties were true emperors. As Fallmerayer pertinently says, 'It would have been high treason from them to allow the Trapezuntine Comneni rank equal to that of their own masters.'<sup>4</sup> Byzantine

<sup>1</sup> Du Cange, *Familiae Byzantinae*, p. 192: 'Falluntur qui Imperatoris titulum Alexio adscribunt, cum a Ioanne abnepote primo usurpatum tradant plerique.'

<sup>2</sup> Gibbon, *op. cit.*, ed. Bury, VI, 420-421 (chapter Lxi).

<sup>3</sup> *Speculum historiale fratris Vincentii Belvacensis ordinis Sancti Dominici, liber xxxi, caput 144*: 'Item Dominus de Trapezondis cc ei (Soldano Turquie) lanceas dabat.' I used the edition of 1484, Nurnberg (Antonius Koburger). A new edition of Vincent's *Speculum Majus*, the third part of which the *Speculum Historiale*, is under consideration by the Mediaeval Academy of America. See B. L. Ullman, *A Project for a new edition of Vincent of Beauvais*, *SPECULUM*, VIII (July 1933), 312-332.

<sup>4</sup> Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

writers in general attribute no special title to the rulers of Trebizond. Nicetas Choniates says that Alexius assumed power over Trebizond;<sup>1</sup> George Acropolita and the Anonymous published by Sathas: Alexius who ruled over Trebizond;<sup>2</sup> Ephraemius: Alexius who held tyrannical power over the inhabitants of Trebizond;<sup>3</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras: Alexius Comnenus ruler of Colchis.<sup>4</sup> Pachymeres calls the rulers of Trebizond princes of the Lazae,<sup>5</sup> in other words, he says their state was the principality of the Lazae. Thus from the point of view of the Byzantine writers connected with the Lascarids and later with the Palaeologi, the rulers of Trebizond were not emperors.

But the rulers of Trebizond called themselves emperors, which may be proved by a source connected with the Palaeologi. Pachymeres gives us valuable information on this subject. He writes that Michael Palaeologus, the restorer of the Byzantine Empire, sent frequent embassies to announce to John, the ruler of the Lazae, who 'paraded boastfully in imperial insignia though having no right whatever to the imperial title,' that Michael would not object to any other title for John, but urged him 'to renounce the imperial title and imperial insignia.' But 'the arrogant barbarian disdained the order, alleging that he was not the first to start this innovation and that he got the title from his forefathers.'<sup>6</sup> Trapezuntine sources, of course, call the rulers of Trebizond emperors. The Trapezuntine chronicler, Michael Panaretas, says that Alexius, the first ruler of Trebizond, passed away after being emperor eighteen years.<sup>7</sup> In his Panegyric to Trebizond, Bessarion, who lived in the fifteenth century, calls Alexius 'the first Emperor of this country, whose name is as sweet to us as the name of the Empire.'<sup>8</sup> There is no doubt that the first ruler of Trebizond, Alexius, already bore the imperial title.

In order to show that West European writers also called the state of Trebizond an empire, Fallmerayer refers to Odericus Raynaldus; he listed the four empires which were formed after the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 as the Constantinopolitan Empire of the Latins, the Trapezuntine Empire under David Comnenus, the Empire of Nicaea under the Lascarids, and the Empire of Thessalonica under the Angeli.<sup>9</sup> But Odericus Raynaldus or Odorico Raynaldi,

<sup>1</sup> Nic. Chon., p. 842: 'ὁ δ' Ἀλέξιος . . . Τραπεζούντος αὐτῆς τὴν δυναστείαν περιεζώνοντο.'

<sup>2</sup> Georg. Acrop., §7 (ed. Heisenberg, I, 12): 'Ἀλεξίου τοῦ τῆς Τραπεζούντος κρατήσαντος.' Anonymous, in Sathas, VII, 453: 'Ἀλεξίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τραπεζούντῃ ἐξουσιάζαντος.'

<sup>3</sup> Ephraemius, p. 304, ll. 7522-7523: 'Ἀλεξίου τοῦ κατατυραννήσαντος Τραπεζουντίων.'

<sup>4</sup> Nicephorus Gregoras, I, 2 (ed. Bonn., I, 13): 'τοῦ τῆς Κολχίδος κρατήσαντος γῆς Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ.'

<sup>5</sup> Pachymeres, VI, 34 (ed. Bonn., I, 519-520): 'τῷ δὲ γε τῆς τῶν Λαζῶν ἀρχοντι.'

<sup>6</sup> Pachymeres, VI, 34 (ed. Bonn., I, 519-520): 'τῷ δὲ γε τῆς τῶν Λαζῶν ἀρχοντι Ἰωάννη παρασήμιος βασιλικῶς ἐμπομπέοντι, οὐ μετὸν ἄλλω βασιλείας ἐκείνῳ . . . ὀνομάτων δὲ καὶ παρασήμιων βασιλικῶν φείδεσθαι . . . ὑπερηφάνει γὰρ βάρβαρος ὢν καὶ ὑπερέωρα τὴν πρόσταξιν, καὶ τινὰ προφάσεις τοῦ μὴ αὐτὸς κατάρξει τῆς ἐπὶ τούτοις παραβασίας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ πατέρων ἔχειν ἐπλάττετο.'

<sup>7</sup> Michael Panaretos, ch. I (ed. Lambros, p. 266): 'καὶ βασιλεύσας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐκοιμήθη.'

<sup>8</sup> Βησσαρίωνος Ἐγκώμιον εἰς Τραπεζούντα, ed. Lambros, Νέος Ἑλληνομνημῶν, XXIII (1916), 183-184: 'Ἀλέξιος μὲν γε καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ πρῶτος τῆς γῆς ταυτησί βασιλεύσας, καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ γλυκὴ πάντων ὄνομα καὶ ἡμῖν, ὡς τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ὀνόματος.' In the separate edition of the Panegyric (Athens, 1916), pp. 41-42.

<sup>9</sup> Baronii — Od. Raynaldi *Annales ecclesiastici*, xx (Bar-le-Duc, 1870), s.a. 1222, §25 (p. 457): 'Ita quattuor imperia ex collapsio Orientali erupere, Constantinopolitanum Latinorum, Davidum

an Italian scholar who continued the annals of Baronius, lived in the seventeenth century (1595-1671), so that he is not an original source; instead of Alexius, Raynaldus mentions David as the first Trapezuntine Emperor. Besides this, Raynaldus' information on this point, as he states himself, is taken from Nicephorus Gregoras,<sup>1</sup> who in the corresponding passage gives the correct name Alexius, whom, as we have seen above, he calls not emperor but ruler of Colchis.<sup>2</sup> For our purpose Raynaldus' statement is of no value whatever.

After finding that the rulers of Trebizond bore the title of Emperor, we shall try to determine their full title. The title of the Byzantine Emperors was Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans (*Βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀυτοκράτωρ τῶν Ῥωμαίων*). Gradually, in connection with David's victorious advance west when he reached the Sea of Marmora at Nicomedia, the dream of taking Constantinople began to hover before the eyes of the Trapezuntine Comneni. At that time they aspired to seize Constantinople and assume the title of *Basileus* and *Autocrator* of the Romans. But under pressure from Theodore Lascaris David was forced to open negotiations with the Latin Emperor and declare himself in 1206 his vassal. In 1214 Sinope was taken by the Turks, and the former vassalage to the Latin Emperor was replaced by Alexius' vassalage to the Turkish Sultan. The west of Asia Minor was definitely lost to Trebizond.

But after 1214 when Sinope was seized by Izz-ad-Din, all trace of the vassalage of Trebizond to the Latin Empire disappeared. The Comneni once more began to regard the Latin Emperors as usurpers, and the Lascarids of Nicaea as aggressors who had no right to become emperors of Constantinople; therefore in the thirteenth century, at any rate up to the reign of Manuel I (1238-1263), the Trapezuntine Emperors assumed the title of Byzantine Emperors, 'the Faithful *Basileus* and *Autocrator* of the Romans.' This conclusion may be drawn from an inscription seen by Finlay in the middle of the nineteenth century in the church of *Hagia Sophia* (of the Divine Wisdom) in Trebizond. The inscription accompanied a portrait of Manuel I with a medallion on his breast, bearing the figure of St Eugenius on horseback.<sup>3</sup> According to W. Miller, this picture was destroyed by the Turks in 1866.<sup>4</sup> Finlay gives the text of the inscription as follows: 'In Christ God, the Faithful Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans, the founder of this monastery, Manuel Comnenus.'<sup>5</sup> It is a great pity that this inscription has not survived; but since Finlay saw and reproduced it, I do not agree with Bezobrazov in denying the value of this information.<sup>6</sup> As the inscription states,

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Comnenorum Trapezuntinum, Lascarorum Nicaeam, Thessalonicum Angelorum.' See Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and note.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*: 'ex Nicephoro Gregora colligitur.'

<sup>2</sup> Niceph. Greg., I, 2 (ed. Bonn., p. 13). The text has been given above.

<sup>3</sup> Finlay, *op. cit.*, IV, 340 and n. 2; see also a note by Tozer, the editor of Finlay's work (*ibidem*).

<sup>4</sup> W. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς Βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων κτήτωρ τῆς μονῆς ταύτης Μανουὴλ ὁ Κομνηνός. After Finlay this inscription was reproduced by G. Millet, 'Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde,' *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XIX (1895), 430; and T. Εὐαγγελίδης, 'Ἱστορία τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος (Odessa, 1898), pp. 72-73.

<sup>6</sup> See below.

Manuel I was probably the founder of the Church of the Holy Wisdom,<sup>1</sup> and the inscription may even have had some connection with the founding. In addition, the dating of Manuel's reign, 1238–1263, is very important. Two years before his death in 1261 Constantinople was taken by Michael Palaeologus, who opened the last Byzantine dynasty. This was a fact of first importance for the Empire of Trebizond. The new Emperor of Constantinople resented the assumption by the ruler of Trebizond of the title of 'Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans' and, as we have noted above, by sending frequent embassies to his contemporary 'prince of the Lazae,' John II (1280–1285), rebuked him for using the imperial style and emblems. Finally it was agreed that Michael should give John his third daughter, Eudokia, to wife; but in return John should doff his red boots, the symbol of imperial dignity, for black, and become Michael's son-in-law with the inferior rank and symbols of Despot. John, impressed by this matrimonial alliance, consented to sail for Constantinople where in 1282 he married Eudokia.<sup>2</sup> After this marriage the title of the rulers of Trebizond was absolutely incompatible with the new state of things and was changed. But the new title was not Despot, as Michael had proposed before the marriage of his daughter. Evidently John would not consent to assume such inferior rank, and Michael yielded his point. The new title was that of 'In Christ God, Faithful Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, the Iberians, and the Transmarine Province' ('Ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ πάσης Ἀνατολῆς, Ἰβήρων καὶ Περαιέας). John II, Eudokia's husband, was probably the first Trapezuntine sovereign to assume this title, which is to be found in the signature to the chrysobull issued by Alexius III (1349–1390) in favor of the Venetians, in March of 1364.<sup>3</sup> To date, this is the earliest mention of this title in legislative texts; but it had assuredly existed before 1364. We also find the same title both at the beginning and at the end of Alexius III's chrysobull issued in September of 1374, by which he founded the monastery of St Dionysius on Mount Athos.<sup>4</sup> In inscriptions this title is

<sup>1</sup> See Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 26: Manuel was perhaps the founder of the church. Th. Uspensky, *Outlines of the history of the Empire of Trebizond* (Leningrad, 1929), p. 14: St Sophia was built by the Great Comnenus Manuel in the first half of the thirteenth century. Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 428: The church does not date before 1204.

<sup>2</sup> A very detailed record of these negotiations in Pachymeres, vi, ch. 34 (ed. Bonn., I, 519–524) See also Niceph. Gregoras, v, 7 (I, 148–149). Panaretos, ch. 5 (ed. Lambros, p. 267).

<sup>3</sup> Miklosich et Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca*, III (1865), 134. D. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène empereur de Trébizonde en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris, 1932), p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> See I. Dräseke, 'Von Dionysioskloster auf dem Athos,' *Byz. Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 86 and 90. Zachariae von Lingenthal, 'Ueber ein Trapezuntinisches Chrysobull,' *Sitzungsber. der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der K. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, 1881, I, 203. In the text published by Fallmerayer, the title is given only at the beginning (*Original-Fragmente*, I, in *Abh. der hist. Classe der bayer. Ak.*, III, dritte Abth., 1843, pp. 40–49 (he refers this chrysobull incorrectly to the year 1375). In 1744 a Russian traveller, V. G. Barsky, had already copied the text of this chrysobull and made a Russian translation of it; both are published in V. G. Barsky, *The second visit to the Holy Athonian Mountain* (St Petersburg, 1887), pp. 377–387. Another Russian translation of this document was published by the Russian bishop Porphyrius Uspensky in his *First Voyage to the Athonian Monasteries*, I, 2 (Kiev, 1877), 112–114.

shorter. In 1702 Tournefort and in the first half of the nineteenth century Fallmerayer and Texier saw in the Theoskepastos Church at Trebizond the pictures of Alexius III, his wife Theodora, and his mother Irene, a daughter of Andronicus III Palaeologus; the pictures were accompanied by inscriptions, but neither pictures nor inscriptions survived repainting in 1843.<sup>1</sup> According to Fallmerayer, the first two inscriptions run as follows: (1) 'Alexius in Christ God, Faithful Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, Great Comnenus' (Πάσης Ἀνατολῆς ὁ Μέγας Κομνηνός); (2) 'Theodora by grace of Christ the most pious Empress of all the East' (Θεοδώρα Χριστοῦ χάριτι εὐσεβεστάτη Δέσποινα καὶ αὐτοκρατορίσσα πάσης Ἀνατολῆς). The third inscription gives the name of Irene, Alexius' mother, but no title.<sup>2</sup> In these inscriptions, 'the Iberians and the Transmarine Provinces' (Περαεῖα) are omitted from Alexius' title, probably on account of length.

Since in the thirteenth century the emperors of Trebizond styled themselves emperors of the Romans, and only after 1282 changed their title, I disagree with P. Bezobrazov, who takes the inscription seen by Finlay with the name of Manuel, 'the Emperor of the Romans,' for a forgery, 'because Trapezuntine Emperors titled themselves Emperors of the East and Iberia but not Emperors of the Romans.'<sup>3</sup> In reference to the title of the Trapezuntine emperors, N. Iorga was recently inexact in stating that their original title was lord of 'All the East, the Iberians, and the Maritime (sic!),' and that it was only later that the Emperor Manuel I (1238-1263) began to call himself 'Autocrat of All the East.'<sup>4</sup>

As sometimes happens, these titles do not always correspond to reality. The title of 'Emperor and Autocrat of All the East, the Iberians, and the Transmarine Provinces' hardly fitted conditions in the fourteenth century. 'All the East' is an amazing exaggeration; Iberia, i.e., Lazica, a territory on the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, had probably been lost in the reign of Andronicus I (1222-1235); the 'Transmarine Province' or 'the Oversea Land' meant the Crimean possessions, Cherson and the Gothic *Climata*, whose dependence upon Trebizond in the fourteenth century was almost null.

We have also some chrysobulls with imperial titles which are considered spurious by most scholars. One of these is a chrysobull issued in 1296 by the Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, Manuel, to one of the monasteries near Trebizond. Since the date is wrong (in 1296 there was no Emperor Manuel)

<sup>1</sup> Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant, fait par ordre du roi*, II (Amsterdam, 1718), p. 103. Fallmerayer, *Original-Fragmente, Chroniken, Inschriften und anderes Materiale zur Geschichte des Kaiserthums Trapezunt*, I, in *Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, III, 3 (Munich, 1843), 66. Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1862), pp. 596-597. Ch. Texier and R. P. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture* (London, 1864), p. 201, plate LXVI.

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions are also reproduced in G. Millet, 'Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde,' *Bulletin de corr. hellénique*, XIX (1895), 438. See also Fallmerayer, *Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> P. Bezobrazov, *Trebizond. Its sanctuaries and antiquities* (Petrograd, 1916), p. 32, n. 1 (in Russian). Bezobrazov remarks, 'One may believe that the inscription which no longer exists referred to the Byzantine Emperor Manuel (1143-1180).'

<sup>4</sup> N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine*, III (Bucarest, 1934), 104.

this chrysobull is regarded either as questionable (*verdächtig*) or spurious.<sup>1</sup> Another diploma issued by Alexius III in July of 1386 which granted some territory to the monastery on the mountain of Zabulon, near Trebizond, gives the following entirely antiquated title: 'In Christ God, the Faithful Emperor and Autocrat of all the East, Alexius, Grand Comnenus, Germanicus, Alamanicus, Gothicus, Vandalicus, glorious, victorious, triumphant, faithful, always august.'<sup>2</sup> This in my belief is a falsification made by someone who wished to imitate a well-known Trebizond inscription praising Justinian the Great.<sup>3</sup>

The particular appellation of the Trapezuntine Comneni was the Great or Grand Comneni (Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοί).<sup>4</sup> A misunderstanding existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on this epithet. Du Cange attributed it to the first emperor, Alexius Comnenus, personally; he wrote, 'Alexius Comnenus cognomento Magnus.'<sup>5</sup> Gibbon also thought it was confined to Alexius and added that 'the epithet of Great was applied perhaps to his stature, rather than to his exploits.'<sup>6</sup> It goes without saying that the epithet of Great was not confined to Alexius I Comnenus but was applied to all the members of this branch of the Comnenian family, from the first emperor to the last, from Alexius I to David, who in 1461 was captured by Muhammed II. Georgius Acropolita wrote that Alexius was called a Great Comnenus.<sup>7</sup> In his Chronicle Michael Panaretos calls almost all the emperors Great Comneni; the last words of his chronicle in reference to David's first marriage are 'David, the Great Comnenus.'<sup>8</sup> According to Panaretos not only the Emperors were called Great Comneni but also their wives, in spite of the fact that they were Comneni only by marriage, as well as their daughters; for instance Irene, wife of Basil; Maria, first daughter of the Emperor Basil, who married a Turcoman chief; the *despina* Eudokia in 1396; Theodora Cantacuzena, wife of Alexius IV.<sup>9</sup> There are also West European sources which show that the epithet of Great Comneni was known in the West. A French historian of the thirteenth century, Joinville, who compiled a history of Louis IX the Saint, says that after his unfortunate crusade to Egypt the King landed in 1253 at Sidon, and that envoys came to him there from a great sover-

<sup>1</sup> See Zachariae von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-297 (text); the date of the chrysobull, 1297, is inexact (p. 293); the document is *verdächtig*. Miklosich et Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, v (1887), 261-264; appendix XII, p. 406; 'tota ratio scribendi redolet falsariam.' Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ueber ein Chrysobull von Trapezunt*, in *Sitzungsberg. der phil.-philol. und hist. Cl. der K. bayer. Ak. der Wiss. zu München* (1886), pp. 299-302; perhaps the document may be genuine? (p. 302).

<sup>2</sup> Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Εγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ τοπογραφίαν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας Τραπεζούντος Μαυρογορδάτιος Βιβλιοθήκη,' Παράρτημα τοῦ ΙΖ' τόμου τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικοῦ Φιλολογικοῦ Συλλόγου (Constantinople, 1886), p. 77. Miklosich-Müller, *op. cit.*, v (1887), 468.

<sup>3</sup> Zakythinus believes this title is genuine and remarks: 'This fact is significant, because it shows that the Emperors of Trebizond did not cease to consider themselves legitimate descendants of the Roman Emperors. Zakythinus, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène*, p. 92, n. 5. On Justinian's inscription see A. Vasiliev, 'Zur Geschichte von Trapezunt unter Justinian dem Grossen,' *Byz. Zeitsch.*, xxx (1929-30), 385-386.

<sup>4</sup> See Fallmerayer, *Geschichte*, pp. 81-84.

<sup>5</sup> Du Cange, *Familiae Byzantinae*, p. 192.

<sup>6</sup> Gibbon (Bury), vi, 420-421 (ch. LXI).

<sup>7</sup> Georgius Acropolita, cap. VII (ed. Heisenberg, p. 12): 'Ἀλεξίου . . . ὁ καὶ Μέγας ὠνομάζετο Κομνηνός.'

<sup>8</sup> Panaretos, ch. 57 (ed. Lambros, p. 294).

<sup>9</sup> Ἡ Μεγάλη Κομνηνή, Panaretos, ch. 16 (p. 276); ch. 38 (p. 286); ch. 55 (p. 293); ch. 56 (p. 293).



eign of 'Profound Greece' who was called 'the Grand Comnenus and Lord of Trebizond.'<sup>1</sup> The Trapezuntine Emperor who sent envoys to Louis IX was Manuel I (1238-1263), the second son of Alexius I. We have an interesting mention in the fifteenth century. In his letter to Pope Eugenius IV of October 18, 1434, which has survived in a Latin version, the Trapezuntine Emperor John IV styles himself 'Aloiane Megatomeneno Dei gracia imperator Trapesundarum.'<sup>2</sup> In *Aloiane* we have of course the distorted name *Ioannes*, and from *Megatomeneno* we can easily reconstruct *Megas Comnenus*, i.e., *Great Comnenus*.

How the epithet of *Great Comneni* arose we do not know. It may with probability be explained by the greatness of the idea of Alexius I and David to restore the Byzantine Empire. The project failed; the idea vanished; but the epithet survived.

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<sup>1</sup> Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. Wailly (Paris, 1882), ch. cxvi, 591; 'li message à un grant signour de la profonde Grece, liques se fesoit appeler le Grant Commenie et signour de Trafontesi.'

<sup>2</sup> The text of this letter has been several times printed. See Raynaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, IX [XXVIII] (Lucca, 1752), 177-178 (§XVIII). Mansi, *Conciliorum Collectio*, xxix, coll. 648-649. From Mansi the text has been reproduced by Fallmerayer, *Geschichte*, pp. 346-347. E. Cecconi, *Studi storici sul Concilio di Firenze. Parte prima. Antecedenti del Concilio* (Florence, 1869), p. civ (Doc. XXXV). See also *Concilium Basiliense*, I. *Studien und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Jahre 1431-1437*, ed. Johannes Haller (Basel, 1896), p. 350. Haller does not publish the text, but gives the address with the name *Aloiane*. In other editions instead of this is printed *Morame* or *Morane*, which is not understandable. Fallmerayer refers incorrectly the letter not to John IV but to his predecessors, Alexius IV and Alexander (p. 347).

## SOME NEW TEXTS ON THE ASSEMBLY OF 1302

By CHARLES HOLT TAYLOR

THERE is little evidence on the mode and scope of summons to the first so-called Estates General of French history.<sup>1</sup> The following group of texts relates to the convocation of towns by the seneschal of Carcassonne; noted in a published inventory, it seems to have escaped attention.

In Picot's collection are to be found the royal summons to the seneschal of Beaucaire, the transmission of the order to the royal governor of Montpellier, and the mere notice of reception by the consuls of that town. The new texts, as in the case of those for Beaucaire,<sup>2</sup> are grouped in a single document,<sup>3</sup> but in this case the basic document is a record of the actual appointment of delegates from the town of Pézenas in answer to the convocation.<sup>4</sup> As a part of the record there are inserts: (1) the royal letters to the seneschal of Carcassonne, directing him to cite towns in his jurisdiction, (2) the orders of the seneschal to the *viguier* of Béziers, with reference to the citation of particular

<sup>1</sup> G. Picot, ed., *Documents relatifs aux Etats Généraux (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Paris, 1901)*, pp. 1-4, nos. 1-3. A document published in Devic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (revised edition), x, col. 405, no. 11, throws some light on the convocation; it shows that towns in the lands of the Count of Foix had been summoned and were being prosecuted for non-appearance. The towns are not named. Jusselin, in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXVII (1906), 468 ff., published the valuable text of a summons to the clergy in the baillage of Senlis.

<sup>2</sup> The royal letters to the seneschal of Beaucaire and the latter's order to the *rector* of Montpellier are inserts in the document which acknowledges receipt of the summons by the consuls. Picot publishes them separately (nos. 1-3).

<sup>3</sup> Pézenas, Municipal Archives, Layette 2, Liasse 3, no. 3: parchment original, folded once in each direction, badly injured at the right side, center, by rats. On the back is a notation (eighteenth century?): 'Scindicat fait par les consuls de Pezenas pour envoyer aux Etats a Paris de l'an III II.' The eighteenth-century inventory (ed. by Berthelé, 1907) gives a summary which brings out more fully the nature of the document.

<sup>4</sup> The exact nature and purpose of this document is hard to determine. In form, it resembles from start to finish a *procès-verbal*, a record of action taken by the town on receipt of the royal summons. It lacks the style, terms (*procurator*, *syndicus*) and phraseology of ordinary mandates of procuration, though the archives of Pézenas show that the town knew and used those ordinary mandates. It is not inconceivable that Pézenas, receiving a strongly worded summons to unusual action, would draw up and preserve a minute of the occasion. The basic text in the parallel document for Beaucaire is certainly nothing more than such a minute, recording the reception of summons by the consuls of Montpellier (Picot, no. III).

On the other hand, too much must not be concluded on the basis of form and style. This document does, in effect, what a mandate of procuration does; it names the mandatories and describes their powers. The departure in form and phrase from the usual mandate might be due to the influence of the style used in the letters of convocation; the clauses that record grant of powers are in fact little more than repetitions of the corresponding section in the summons. The inference then would be that Pézenas was anxious to satisfy the demands of the summons in every point, and, in preparing its mandate, felt it safer to copy the summons than to follow the ordinary forms. There are many cases in 1308 of towns whose mandates are little more than echoes of the letters of convocation; most of them are in the north, but for southern examples, cf. Picot, p. 701 (Alet), p. 702, (Béziers), p. 696 (Castelnaudary). Picot omits essential clauses so often in his texts that it is hard to cite full evidence on this point. In fact, the whole matter of mandate forms needs further study, including re-examination of the scores of documents that Picot prints in abridged form.

towns in his territory, (3) the order of the *viguier* to a sergeant who carries the summons to a still smaller group of specified towns, among them Pézenas. Thus the several stages in the transmission of the orders of convocation reached Pézenas in the document carried by the sergeant.

In comparison with the materials for Beaucaire, the evidence is obviously richer. The most immediate point of contrast is that, whereas for Beaucaire the royal orders apparently limit the citation to a few specified towns, for Carcassonne the seneschal is given latitude of choice and proceeds to use it.<sup>1</sup>

For the sake of clarity, the document is edited not as a single unit, but rather in terms of the different component texts which it actually contains.<sup>2</sup>

## I

ROYAL LETTERS OF CONVOCATION, ADDRESSED TO THE  
SENECHAL OF CARCASSONNE

Philippus, Dei gratia Francorum rex, senescallo Carcassone vel ejus locum tenenti, salutem. Super pluribus et arduis negociis nos, statum, libertatem<sup>3</sup> nostros et regni nostri, necnon ecclesiarum, ecclesiasticarum, nobilium, secularium personarum ac universorum et singulorum incolarum regni ejusdem non mediocriter tangentibus, cum prelatibus, baronibus et aliis nostris et ejusdem regni fidelibus et subjectis tractare et deliberare volentes, mandamus vobis quatinus consulibus et universitatibus Narbonensis, Biterrensis, Lodovensis, Aguathensis civitatum,<sup>4</sup> burgi Carcassone et Appamiarum,<sup>5</sup> Limosii et castrorum et villarum mandetis ex parte nostra ac precipiatis sub fidelitate et quocumque vinculo quo nobis tenentur astricti, ut dicti consules et universitates civitatum et villarum predictarum per duos aut tres de majoribus et peritioribus singularum universitatum predictarum, plenam et expressam potestatem habentes inter cetera a consulibus et universitatibus predictis audiendi, recipiendi et faciendi omnia et singula, ac consentiendi absque excusatione relationis cujuslibet faciende in omnibus et singulis que per nos in hac parte fuerint ordinata, postpositis omnibus aliis et obmissis, excusatione et occasione quibuscumque cessantibus, hac instanti die dominica ante Ramos palmarum interessint Parisius nobiscum tractaturi et deliberaturi super hiis, audituri, recepturi et facturi omnia et singula, suumque, nomine consulum et universitatum predictarum, prebituri assensum in omnibus et singulis que super premissis et ea tangentibus per nos fuerint ordinata; in-

<sup>1</sup> More detailed comment is reserved for a volume of studies, in preparation, on early representative institutions in France. For the opportunity of carrying out the research involved, I am indebted to the assistance given by the Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, at Harvard University.

<sup>2</sup> Following Picot's handling of the parallel texts for Beaucaire.

<sup>3</sup> The abbreviation permits either singular or plural form here, and I am by no means certain that the singular is preferable.

<sup>4</sup> At this point the text of summons for Beaucaire is differently rendered by Picot, following perhaps Ménard, *Histoire de Nîmes* (Paris, 1750), I, 143. Picot and Ménard resolve the place-names and punctuate thus: 'consulibus et universitatibus Nemausensi, Uticensi, Mimatensi et Vivariensi, civitatum ac villarum Montis-Pessulani et Bellicadri.' This confuses the sense of the text, which is quite clear if the adjectival place-names are put in the genitive to agree with *civitatum*. The abbreviated forms in the present manuscript are as follows: 'Narbon Bitren Lodoven Aguathn civitatu burgi Carc et Appami Limosii et.' I have not yet been able to check the point by reference to *B.N.*, *MS. Latin 9192*, but I remember that text as being heavily abbreviated, and not imposing the solutions of abbreviations made by Picot.

<sup>5</sup> Pamiers is mentioned outside of its proper category. This may reflect the royal ire with its bishop, or merely the fact that Pamiers was a *civitas* of very recent foundation, so that old forms of reference to it persisted. Cf. Devic and Vaissete, *op. cit.*, x, col. 393; a document of 1302 in which the royal scribe refers to the *villa Appamiarum*.

timantes eisdem quod nisi juxta mandatum hujusmodi comparuerint coram nobis, procedetur contra illos prout fuerit r[ationis].<sup>1</sup> Actum Parisius, die jovis post octabas Candeloſe, anno Domini millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> primo.

## II

THE SENESCHAL OF CARCASSONNE TRANSMITS THE ORDER OF  
CONVOCAION TO THE VIGUIER OF BÉZIERS

Guido Caprarii, miles domini nostri regis Francorum, senescallus Carcassone et Biterris, nobili viro vicario Biterris domini regis vel ejus locum tenenti, salutem et dilectionem sinceram. Litteras domini nostri regis Francorum patentes et pendentes nos recepisse noveritis in hec verba; 'Philippus, Dei gratia . . .' (*Text I, above*).

Quare nos vobis districte precipimus et mandamus quatinus sine mora<sup>2</sup> [d]ictis] consulibus et universitatibus Narbonensis, Biterrensis, Lodovensis et Agathensis civitatum, necnon burgorum Sancti Poncii Thomeriarum, Ananie, Sancti Guillelmi de Desertis, S[ancti T]iberii [ . . . ]ne,<sup>3</sup> ac castrorum seu villarum de Cessenone,<sup>4</sup> de Pedenaco, de Montanaco,<sup>5</sup> de Caucio,<sup>6</sup> de Ginhaco, de Claromonte, de Florenciaco et de Capitestagno,<sup>7</sup> mandetis [ex parte] domini regis sub fidelitate et quocumque vinculo quo sunt astricti domino nostro regi, ut dicti consules et universitates per duos aut tres de [majoribus et] peritioribus singularum universitatum predictarum, plenam et expressam a dictis consulibus et universitatibus potestatem habentes audiendi, recipiendi [et faciendi omnia] que ordinabuntur per dictum dominum regem juxta tenorem dictarum litterarum, ac consensendi in eis absque excusatione faciente rel[ationis], postpositis omnibus aliis et] obmissis, cessantibusque omnibus excusatione et<sup>8</sup> occasione, hac instanti die dominica ante Ramos palmarum interessint Parisius, coram domino nostro r[ege tractaturi, delibera]turi, audiri, recepturi et facturi, suumque prebituri concensum, nomine consulum et universitatum predictarum in et super omnibus et singulis que per dictum dominum regem in pr[emissis] et ea tangentibus fuerint ordinata, intimando eisdem quod nisi juxta mandatum predictum coram domino nostro rege comparuerint, contra illos ut rationis fuerit procedetur, premissa complentes juxta predictarum domini regis continentiam litterarum. Redde litteras sigillatas in signum recepti mandati et completi. Datum Bitterris ydus Martii, anno Nativitatis Christi millesimo ccc<sup>o</sup> secundo.

## III

THE VIGUIER OF BÉZIERS SENDS A SERGEANT WITH THE  
ORDERS OF CONVOCAION TO A NUMBER OF TOWNS

Johannes Rotgerii, curie Biterris domini regis notarius, tenens locum domini vicarii Biterris domini regis, dilecto suo Johanni de Aurelianis, servienti jurato curie Biterris dicti domini regis, salutem. Litteras nobilis viri domini Guidonis Caprarii, militis domini nostri regis, senescalli Carcassone et Biterris, recepimus in hec verba; 'Guido Caprarii, miles . . .' (*Text II, above*).

Quarum igitur auctoritate tibi precipiendo mandamus quatinus apud Aguatham, Florenciacum, Sanctum Tiberium, Pedenacum, Montanacum, Ananiam, Ginacum, et Sanctum Guillelmum de Desertis<sup>9</sup> personaliter accedens, consulibus et universitatibus dictorum

<sup>1</sup> Brackets indicate text reconstructed where holes occur in the manuscript. <sup>2</sup> MS. more.

<sup>3</sup> The manuscript has a hole here which permits room for ten or twelve letters. *Sancti Tiberii* is St Thibéry, arr. Béziers, canton Pézenas. <sup>4</sup> Cessenon, arr. St Pons, canton St Chinian.

<sup>5</sup> The abbreviated form is *Mont*; Montagnac, arr. Béziers. Cf. note 9, below.

<sup>6</sup> Caux, arr. Béziers, canton Pézenas.

<sup>7</sup> The episcopal towns and St Pons, Aniane, St Guilhem-le-Désert, Gignac, Clermont de Lodève, Florensac and Capestang, are too well known to need specific location.

<sup>8</sup> Lacking in the manuscript.

<sup>9</sup> Note that the sergeant is ordered to cite a list of towns that lie along the Hérault, from Agde to St Guilhem, almost in the order named.

locorum dictum mandatum facias et alia supradicta, intimando eisdem predicta et hoc juxta predictarum continentiam litterarum. Reporta litteras, completo mandato. Datum Biterris ydus Martii, anno Nativitatis Christi millesimo ccc° secundo.

## IV

THE TOWN OF PÉZENAS ACTS IN RESPONSE TO  
THE ORDERS OF CONVOCATION

Anno Nativitatis Christi millesimo ccc° secundo, domino Philippo rege Francorum regnante, xv kalendas Aprilis. Noverint universi quod Bernardus Fabri, Bernardus Roserii, et Micahel Caironi, consules universitatis hominum castri de Pedenaco, existentes seu constituti in presentia universitatis hominum castri de Pedenaco, dyocesis Aguathensis, ad vocem preconis publici dicti castri vocate legitime et more solito de mandato et auctoritate Johannis Raynardi bajuli et castellani de Pedenaco domini regis ad generale parlamentum propter infrascripta et contenta ad instantiam et requisitionem consulum predictorum, et etiam in ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Pedenaco congregate ubi parlamentum fit et fieri consuevit per predictam universitatem et homines ejusdem, dixerunt et proposuerunt se illa eadem die que intitatur xv kalendas Aprilis recepisse et habuisse quoddam transcriptum quarundam litterarum magistri Johannis Rotgerii, notarii, tenentis locum domini vicarii Biterris domini regis, continentium in se quasdam litteras nobilis et potentis viri domini Guidonis Caprarii, militis domini nostri regis Francie, senescalli Carcassone et Biterris, continentes etiam predictas litteras dicti domini senescalli formam et tenorem quarundam litterarum illustrissimi principis domini Philippi Dei gratia Francorum regis, missarum per predictum locum tenentem et directarum Johanni de Aurelianis, servienti jurato curie Biterris domini regis, ut dicitur et prima facie apparebat de predictis, cujusquidem transcripti tenor dinoscitur<sup>1</sup> esse talis: 'Johannes Rotgerii, curie Biterris . . .' (*Text III, above*).

Quare predicti consules supplicaverunt et requisiverunt dictam universitatem ut predicta universitas et homines ejusdem eligerent duos aut tres homines de majoribus et peritioribus dicte universitatis, quibus darent et concederent plenam et expressam potestatem inter cetera audiendi, recipiendi et faciendi omnia et singula in predictis litteris domini regis contenta, ac consentiendi absque excusatione relationis cujuslibet faciente in omnibus et singulis que per predictum dominum regem fuerint ordinata juxta suarum litterarum continentiam predictarum. Postque et incontinenti predicta universitas dicti castri de Pedenaco, seu due partes ejusdem communi extimatione et plus, nominaverunt inter ceteros majores et peritiores dicte universitatis, scilicet<sup>2</sup> Bernardum Roserii et Bernardum Fabri supradictos, et eosdem creaverunt, constituerunt et concorditer elegerunt ad comparendum Parisius, et ut ibidem interessint coram predicto domino nostro rege hac instanti die dominica ante Ramos palmarum, dantes et concedentes dictis Bernardo Roserii et Bernardo Fabri plenam et expressam potestatem audiendi, recipiendi, complendi et faciendi omnia et singula, ac consentiendi absque excusatione relationis cujuslibet faciente predictae universitati in omnibus et singulis que per predictum dominum regem et ejus officiales seu magistros fuerint ordinata super contentis omnibus universis et singulis in litteris regis supradictis, postpositis etiam omnibus aliis et obmissis, necnon excusatione et occasione cessantibus quibuscumque. Item quod predicti Bernardus Fabri et Bernardus Roserii sic nominati, creati, electi et constituti possint tractare cum predicto domino nostro rege, et tractent et deliberent super predictis, audiant, recipiant ac faciant omnia et singula, et suum, nomine dicte universitatis, prebeant acensum in omnibus et singulis que super premissis et ea tangentibus per predictum dominum nostrum regem et officiales seu ejus magistros fuerint ordinata, et predicta omnia universa et singula predicta universitas seu predictae due partes et plus hominum dicte universitatis ibidem existentium voluerunt et dixerunt et concesserunt Bernardo Fabri et Bernardo Roserii supradictis, fieri et compleri per ipsos, ad sumptus et expensas universitatis castri de Pedenaco

<sup>1</sup> MS. dinoscitur.<sup>2</sup> MS. scilicet.

supradicti, et quod omnia predicta universa et singula superius contenta haberent rata, grata etiam sive firma. Actum in ecclesia predicta, in presentia et testimonio Johannis Berriaci, magistri Guillelmi Vasconis, jurisperiti, magistri Raynaudi de Podio, notarii, Petri Berriaci, Petri Broas(?), Andree Calve, domini Guillelmi Berriaci, presbiteri, Guillelmi Sicardi, Raynaudi Viguerii, et mei Raynaudi de Montsalino, publici Pedenaci domini regis notarii, qui hec scripsi et signo meo signavi consueto.<sup>1</sup>

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## BRAN AND SCEOLANG

By JOHN R. REINHARD AND VERNAM E. HULL

So extraordinary an individual was Finn mac Cumail as a philosopher, a musician, a poet, a leech, an admiral, a druid, a priest, a statesman, a general, and as a prophet that the shanachies and bards who told the story of his life and exploits found it unthinkable that anything pertaining to his men, his household, or his possessions should be merely customary. To the ranks of Finn's militia were admitted only those applicants whose mental accomplishments matched their physical skill; Finn's revenue was derived from a cantred in every province, a townland in every cantred, and a house in every townland in Ireland; and his palace at Allen rivaled the splendor and aroused the resentment of the Monarch himself. But virtuosity did not cease here: Finn's wife was alive by day and dead by night, yet there was no woman whom he loved more. One of his poets, though deaf, had stored in his memory every lay commemorating the deeds of the Fianna. No man could escape death from the *shaft* of a spear which inflicted no wound with its *point*. Finn's sword 'left not a remnant of its blow'; the Dord Fian could be heard throughout the five fifths of Ireland; and no secret was veiled from Finn when he put his thumb under his tooth of knowledge.

Thus, like the bow of Odysseus, the sword of Roland, and the horse of Renaud de Montauban, the hunting dogs of Finn — Bran and Sceolang — were distinguished by their incomparable superiority. To a man in the hunting stage of society a good dog was doubtless as important and valuable as was a destrier to a knight of the chivalric period; and it was probably inevitable that mythopoiesis should enhance the virtues of the one as of the other. One recalls, too, the excellent qualities of Irish watchdogs as illustrated by two of the hounds sprung from the skull of Conganchness: Ailbe, who guarded all Leinster for Mac Dathó, and the unnamed watchdog of Culann the Smith, whose virtues were no match for those of Cuchulain, the champion of Ulster.<sup>2</sup>

A considerable portion of Fenian and Ossianic literature is concerned with the chase, and so also with the dogs engaged therein. Among many dogs enumerated in *Seilg Locha Lein*,<sup>3</sup> we find

<sup>1</sup> There follows the sign of the notary.

<sup>2</sup> K. Meyer, *Aided Cheltchair maic Uthechair*, *TLS*, xiv (1906), 28-31; *id.*, *Hibernica Minora (Anec. Ozon.*, 1894), p. 51; E. Windisch, *Irische Texte* (Leipzig, 1880), i, 96; *Sliab Callan* in E. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, iv (Dublin, 1924), 170-171.

<sup>3</sup> J. O'Daly, *Transactions of the Ossianic Society* [hereinafter referred to as TOS], iv (Dublin, 1859), 200 f.

. . . Sgeolan and Bran,  
Lomaire, Brod and Lom-luth;  
Five hounds foremost in the chase and actions  
That never parted from Fionn.<sup>1</sup>

The *Acallamh na Senórach* tells how Arthur son of Beine Brit stole three of Finn's dogs — Bran, Sceolaing, and Adnuall.<sup>2</sup> Bran and Sceolang were also among the dogs that killed 2000 deer and 1000 boars, not to mention does and badgers, in 'The Chase of Sliabh Truim.'<sup>3</sup> These dogs did their share too in the mighty 'Chase of Slievenamon,'<sup>4</sup> in which 3000 dogs killed each two stags. Another poem in the *Duanaire Finn*<sup>5</sup> informs us that there is no animal in any shape which Finn's dogs Gaillinn, Sceolang, and Bran do not kill outright. Indeed, in *Seilg Muca Droaighechta Aonghuis an Brogha*<sup>6</sup> Finn boasts that Bran and Sgeolan would bring down any pig either of this world or of the Tuatha Dé Danann host. Bran actually killed Aenghus' son in boar shape and was cursed by the father. Sceolang is occasionally mentioned alone, as in the *Caoidh Oisín a n-Diagh na Feinne*<sup>7</sup> and *Seilg Shléibhe Fuaid*<sup>8</sup> but in several instances it was Bran only who carried off the honors. Thus, it was he who coursed the doe who changed into a lady at the lake as related by *Seilg Shléibhe g-Cuilinn*<sup>9</sup> and *Feis Tighe Chonain Chinn Shléibhe*.<sup>10</sup> Another example of Bran's prowess is found in the Scots Gaelic ballad 'How Bran killed the Black Dog.'<sup>11</sup>

Something other than mere canine ability and intelligence is reflected in *Tór-uirgheacht Dhiarmuda i Ghrainne*. After the flight of Diarmuid and Grainne Finn reasoned that the lovers must be in Doire dha Bhoth. Oisín, Oscar, Caoilte, and Diorrying, Diarmuid's friends, resolved to warn him against Finn by sending Bran, for Finn himself was not dearer to him than was Diarmuid: 'Bran understood that with knowledge and wisdom, and went back to the hinder part of the host where Fionn might not see him, and followed Diarmuid and Grainne by their track until he reached Doire dha Bhoth, and thrust his head into Diarmuid's bosom and he asleep.'<sup>12</sup>

In appearance, too, 'Bran and beautiful Sceolang' seem to have excelled ordinary dogs. 'Caoilte's Urn' speaks of Bran as 'the handsome hound of many vir-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 203. This stanza is almost identical with that quoted by S. H. O'Grady, *TOS*, III (Dublin, 1857), 203 as forming a part of the 'Anmanna na g-Con agus na Gadhar do bhi ag an bh-Feinn ag Fagbhail Chnuic an Air.'

<sup>2</sup> See S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London, 1892), II, 105. The *Acallamh*, current before 1167, seems to furnish us with the earliest reference to Bran and Sceolang.

<sup>3</sup> *Duanaire Finn*, Pt. I, No. xxiv, ed. tr. Eoin Mac Neill, *ITS*, VII (London, 1908), pp. 188 f. See also *Fiadach Fhianna Eireann ar Shliabh Truim*, O'Daly, *TOS*, VI (Dublin, 1861), 104, 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Duanaire Finn*, Pt. II, No. lviii, ed. tr. G. Murphy, *ITS*, XXVIII (London, 1933), pp. 216 f. See also *Seilg Shléibhe na m-Ban*, O'Daly, *TOS*, VI (Dublin, 1861), 131; J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne* (London, 1872), p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Pt. I, No. xiv, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 131.

<sup>6</sup> O'Daly, *TOS*, VI, 134, 135, 142, 143, 150, 151.

<sup>7</sup> O'Grady, *TOS*, III, 262, 263.

<sup>8</sup> O'Daly, *TOS*, VI, 22, 23.

<sup>9</sup> O'Daly, *TOS*, VI, 2 f.

<sup>10</sup> N. O'Kearney, *TOS*, II (Dublin, 1835), 169-171; *id.*, *ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne* (London, 1872), p. 92.

<sup>12</sup> S. H. O'Grady, *TOS*, III, 64, 65. Other incidental references to Bran and Sceolang may be found in O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 231, 343; O'Daly, *TOS*, IV, 21, 75; VI, 138, 146.

tues,' and 'The Beagle's Cry' tells us that 'dearly Fionn loved the hounds, good was their courage and achievement.'<sup>1</sup> Near the beginning of *Feis Tighe Chonain Chinn Shléibhe* the porter announces to Conan the arrival of two visitors. One 'is the largest of heroes, the most powerful of champions, and the most beautiful of the human race; he leads a ferocious, small-headed, white-breasted, sleek-haunched hound, having the eyes of a dragon, the claws of a wolf, the vigor of a lion, the venom of a serpent angered to speedy action, by a massy chain of old silver attached to a collar of brightly burnished gold around his neck. There is another brown-haired, ruddy-faced, white-toothed man with the former: he is leading a yellow-spotted hound by a chain of bright brass, which he holds in his hand.'<sup>2</sup> Conan, from this description, has no difficulty in recognizing Finn with Bran and Diorraing with Sceolang. Other details are furnished by 'Bran's Departure from Finn': 'Two white sides had Bran and a fresh crimson shining tail. His crimson hauch was well apportioned, stretching from his tail to the end of his back. He had four blue feet for going by night and day, green paws . . . and gleaming pale-red claws.'<sup>3</sup> He had a fierce eye in his shapely head. It was impossible to contend with him. Beautiful and lovely was his fame. He was swifter than all hare-hounds. The tallest of the Fian dogs would pass beneath his groin without stooping; his head — it was a cunning distribution — was as high as my shoulder.'<sup>4</sup>

These are certainly unusual qualities for any dog; we begin to understand a part of the reason for Finn's esteem. But in 'Caoilte's Urn' we are further informed that 'Bran, though a hound, was still no hound; good was his valor, fair his fame; he was no hound's offspring, from no hound sprung, and no hunting dog's offspring was his mother. Bran — good were his wit and his reason — never did he, as a dog, fail the king of Dal n-Araidhe's son.'<sup>5</sup>

At first sight the two *ranns* here quoted seem bewildering and even irritating, as are so many isolated passages in Irish literature when we do not understand their implications. We may relieve suspense in the present instance and at the same time divulge the remainder of the reason why Finn loved Bran and Sceolang by saying that they were really his cousins. According to the genealogy carefully established by those competent in such matters, Tadhg of Allen had two daughters, Muirne and Uirne. The former was one of the wives of Cumall, and Finn was the fruit of their union. Uirne had a more colorful career. First she was married to Conall, and Dáire was the child of this marriage. Then she was given to Imcad, son of the king of Dal n-Araide, but she met with no favor from the queen, who changed her, while pregnant, into the form of a bitch. The thaumaturgy whereby she regained her proper shape had no effect on her offspring, who were born as dogs — Bran and Sceolang. Uirne's third marital adventure was

<sup>1</sup> *Duanairé Finn*, I, No. xvii, p. 144 and No. xxxii, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> O'Kearney, *TOS*, II, 123, 125.

<sup>3</sup> These unusual colors are understandable when we recall that the Celts used to dye their dogs and horses.

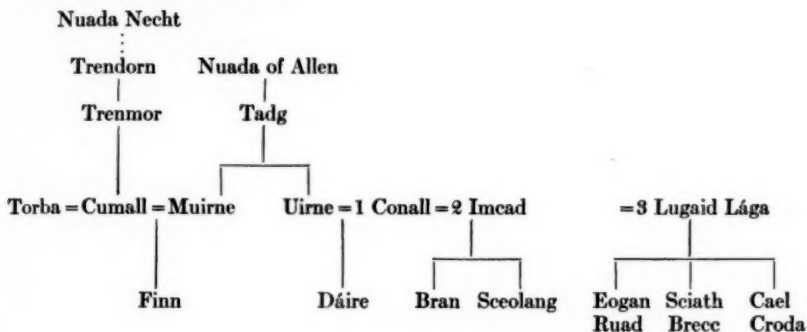
<sup>4</sup> *Duanairé Finn*, II, No. lvi, pp. 198-201, stanzas 4-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, I, No. xvii, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 142.



with Lugaid Lága, by whom she had three normal children, Eogan Ruad, Sciath Brecc, and Cael Croda. The table below will illustrate these relationships. Thus it is plain why Bran and Sceolang, even though dogs, would never fail to be faithful to the king of Dal n-Araide's son, Imcad, for he was their father.

The explanation of these circumstances is provided by three texts: a passage in *Feis Tighe Choinn Chinn Shléibhe*, a poem in the *Duanaire Finn* which may be entitled 'Lugh's Kinship with the Fian,' and an anecdote in *MS.8214* of the National Library of Ireland.<sup>1</sup>



#### FEIS TIGHE CHOAIN CHINN SHLÉIBHE

A part of the *Festivities at the House of Conan*<sup>2</sup> consists of a series of tales and anecdotes about himself which the crafty Conan elicits from Finn, his guest. After Finn has satisfactorily explained the Dord Fian, the story continues

'Win victory and blessings,' said Conan, 'and inform me what kindred have Bran and Sceoluing to you, where it was you found them, and who were the three half-brothers by the mother's side, that they had in the Fenian ranks.' 'I will tell you about that,' said Fionn. 'Muirrionn Mongcaemh, daughter of Tadgh son of Nuaghat, my mother, once paid me a visit, on which occasion she was accompanied by her sister Tuirreann, daughter of Tadgh. There were at that same time with me two princes, chiefs of the Fenians of Ulster, Iollann Eachtach and Fergus Fionnmór, sons of Cas Cuailgne. Iollann Eachtach was paying his addresses to Tuirreann, and was deeply in love with her, and I gave her to him in marriage upon certain conditions, namely, that she should be restored safe to me whenever I demanded her, and that the Fenian chiefs should become sureties for her safe return. The reason I demanded that was, Iollann was attended by a familiar female spirit named Uchtdealbh [Fair-bosom], daughter of the king of Coillen Feidhlim, and being apprehensive she might destroy Tuirreann, I therefore gave her from my hand into that of Oisín; Oisín gave her into the hand of Caoilte; Caoilte gave her into the hand of Mac Luigheach; Mac Luigheach gave her into the hand of Diarmuid O'Duibhne; Diarmuid gave her into the hand of Goll son of Moirne; Goll gave her into the hand of Lughaidh Lamha, son of Eoghan Tailéach; and Lughaidh gave her into the hand of Iollann Eachtach, saying: "I deliver to you this young woman upon the condition that when Fionn thinks proper to demand her, you shall restore her safe, as in duty bound." After that mutual

<sup>1</sup> A quite different account of Bran's origin is given by J. G. Campbell, *The Fians* (London, 1891), pp. 204-207.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. tr. N. O'Kearney, *TOS*, II (Dublin, 1855); see pp. 158-167. The tale exists in a manuscript made by Foran of Portlaw in 1780.

engagement Iollann conducted her to his own house, and she remained with him until she became pregnant. That familiar spirit of Iollann paid Tuirreann a visit under a disguised appearance and said: "O princess, Fionn wishes you long life and health, and desires you to exercise hospitality on a large scale; come out with me until I speak a few words with you, as I am in a hurry." The young woman accompanied her out, and when they were some distance from the house, she took her dark druidical wand from under her garment, and having struck the young woman with it, metamorphosed her into a grayhound, the handsomest that the human eye ever beheld, and brought her along with her to the house of Fergus Fionnliath, king of Ath-cliaith Meaghraith. Now this was the character of Fergus: he was the most unsociable individual in the world, and he would not permit a hound to remain in the same house along with him. Nevertheless the courier said to him: "Fionn sends to greet you, and requests you will take good care of this hound against his coming here; she is heavy with young, therefore take particular care of her, and do not suffer her to hunt after her burden grows heavier; if you do otherwise Fionn will not thank you." "I am much surprised at this order," replied Fergus, "since Fionn well knows that there is not in the world a more unsociable being than myself, yet I will not refuse Fionn's request respecting the first hound he ever sent me." As regards Fergus: He soon after brought out his hound to the chase to test her value, and made a great havoc in the hunt that day, and every other day during a month, for the hound never saw a wild animal that she would not run down. At the expiration of that time she grew heavy with young, so that she was afterwards led to the chase no more; and Fergus was filled with love and a strong passion for hounds ever after. The wife of Fergus happened to be confined about that time; and she gave birth to an infant the same night that the hound whelped two puppies, a male and female. . . . As regards Fionn: When he learned that his mother's sister was not living with Iollann Eachtach, he insisted on the fulfilment of the pledge by which the Fenians were bound to restore her safely; the pledge passed from one to the other to Lugaídh Lamha the last. Lugaídh pledged his word that he would bring the head of Iollann to Fionn unless he would deliver to him Tuirreann alive and safe, that he might restore her to redeem his own pledge. Iollann requested time to go in quest of Tuirreann, having pledged his word that if he was unable to find her he would surrender himself in order to free Lugaídh from his obligation. Lugaídh granted him that request, and Iollann immediately proceeded to the Sighe of Coilleán Feidhlim where Uchtdealbh, his *leannan sighe* then was. He told her the purport of his visit. "Well, then," said Uchtdealbh, "if you will consent to give me a pledge and bond that you are willing to have me as your spouse to the termination of your life, I will free you from your difficulty." Iollann gave what she required, and she went to the house of Fergus Fionnliath to fetch the young woman, and restored her to her natural shape at a short distance from the house. Uchtdealbh brought the young woman to me, and informed me that she had been pregnant before her metamorphosis into a hound, and had given birth to two puppies, a male and a female. She told me also that whichever I chose them to be, either human beings or dogs, they should accordingly be such. I replied that if they were to be given to me, I would prefer that they should remain hounds. In the meantime Lugaídh Lamha requested that I should reward him for his guardianship by giving him Tuirreann to wife. I gave her, and she remained with him until she gave birth to three sons, namely, Sgiath Breac, Aodhgan Ruadh, and Cael Crodha, and these are the three sons born of the same mother who gave birth to Bran and Sceolang. Hence this is the solution of your question, O Conan," said Fionn.

#### LUGH'S KINSHIP WITH THE FIAN

The account of these matters in the *Duanáire Finn*<sup>1</sup> is somewhat shorter, but preserves the essential details.

<sup>1</sup> Pt. II, No. xlv, pp. 114-117. This poem, together with others in the same collection, seems to have been written down at the beginning of the seventeenth century; the tale itself may be as old as the sixteenth or fifteenth.

'I remember how Lugh and a portion of the Fian were related. Although the host has all gone, I tell it without falsehood. Tall Eithne was Lugh's mother; she was given to Tadhg; from her sprang a noble progeny, great Tuirn [*recte* Uirne] and smooth-necked Muirn. To Conall — I shall not conceal it — was given the queen, Uirne Sharpmouth; she bore a son . . . princely Dáire of the bright teeth. The comely pleasant lad Mac Lughach was son to Dáire; Lughach, daughter of forceful Fionn, was the mother of Gaoine of the clear deeds. Fionn, the prince of heroes, bound Tuirn [*recte* Uirne] to the good lord of Ulster. She lived with that prosperous king and so became heavy and with child. The king had a wife before her, the very powerful daughter of Bodhbh. She cast Uirne Sharpmouth into the shape of a hound — a great tale to tell. The gentle queen is delivered in Fearghus Finliath's house. She bore both Bran and Sceolang, a lovely offspring. Lugaídh Lágha, who was her surety, issued a mandate that she should be freed firmly from hound's form in the presence of the men of Ireland. The modest truly gentle queen was given to Lugaídh Lágha. She bore a son, warlike Sgiath and valiant hundred-slaying Caol. These are Lugaídh Lágha's four sons — boldly did they conquer in battle — hundred-slaying Caol, who makes his spear crimson, speckled Sgiath, Aodh and Iollann. Seven children — I shall not hide it — did Uirne Sharpmouth bear; twice three sons have I remembered who ranked among the nobles of Ireland. Gentle Muirn had one son, yet he was not the least, the prince who sustained us, the diadem of our host, Fionn, son of Cumhall, son of Trémhór. That was the strong kinship of the two daughters of great Tadhg son of Nuadha. Although they themselves, as is known, exist no more, their kinship itself remains.'

## [DI MACCAIB UIRRNE UIRBÉL]

The oldest version of the story about Bran and Sceolang which has yet come to light is a short anecdote which might be entitled 'The Children of Uirne Uirbél.' It is contained in *MS. 8214* of the National Library of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> which represents a part of the text missing from *YBL* [1391–1399], and is found on col. 999, lines 32–46. It is here edited and translated for the first time. The manuscript contractions have been expanded, but only in those cases where their resolution might possibly be doubtful have they been italicized.

## TEXT

Uirne Uirbel *ingen* Taidg *meic* Nuadhot *máthair* Brain : Sceolaingi : Imcadh *mac* Fergusa *meic* Feidlimthe *meic* Fiachach Araide *meic* Aengusa<sup>a</sup> Goibnenn righ Dail n-Araide a n-athair : is amlaid so rot'geinir<sup>b</sup> iad .i. imcadh do'iar ar Find hi : ni'thug Find dó hi co-fuair coraigeacht Luigdech Lagha fa<sup>c</sup> gan mnaí righ Dail n-Araide da milliud : nir'dech ben rig Dail n-Araide don t-slanageacht sin Luigdech Lagha cur'buail do t-šlait Uirne cur'cuir a richt con hi : fa heigin a cur 'n-a richt fein dorisi : nir'fedog in da chuilen do chur asa richt con óir nach iad do'buailid.

Do'chuaidh Lugaídh Lagha anunn iar sin cor' marb ri Dail n-Araide a n-dighoil a einigh : bae Uirni aigi fein co'ruc tri macu do .i. Eogan Ruad : Sciath Breacc mac Dathcháin .i. Dathcháin ainm Uirne 'n-a coin : Cael Croda curab ind<sup>d</sup> aenbroind do'badur tri maic Luigdech Laga : Bran : Sceolang.<sup>e</sup>

## FINIT

<sup>1</sup> This title does not occur in the manuscript and has been added, for the sake of convenience, by the editor. The preposition *di* (*de*) is often written *do* by confusion with the preposition meaning 'to.'

<sup>2</sup> The contents thereof have been set forth by Dr. R. I. Best in the *Report of the Council of Trustees for 1930–1931* (Dublin, 1932), p. 16. To him and to the Trustees the editor is indebted for permission to make a transcript of this text.

\* MS. *Aegusa*.

<sup>b</sup> MS. *rotgeit geinir* with dots under *geit*, indicating that these four letters are to be omitted. The infixed pronoun, however, seems to have no particular force; cf. *Eriu*, 1 (1904), 171, 172. Perhaps the scribe simply neglected to put an additional dot of omission under the *t*.

<sup>c</sup> Professor Thurneysen suggests that the preposition *fa* here governs the whole of the ensuing clause, namely, *gan mnai righ Dail n-Araide da milliud*.

<sup>d</sup> *ind* is a not infrequent Middle Irish form of the Old Irish preposition *in*.

\* MS. *Sceol*.

#### TRANSLATION

Uirne Uirbel, the daughter of Tadg mac Nuadhot, was the mother of Bran and Sceolang, and Imcad mac Fergusa meic Fheidlimthe meic Fiachach Araide meic Aengusa Goibnenn, king of Dail n-Araide, was their father. In this wise were they born: Imcad asked her of Find, and Find did not give her to him until he obtained a surety from Lugaid Laga that the wife of the king of Dail n-Araide would not injure her; but<sup>1</sup> the wife of the king of Dail n-Araide did not pay heed to that guarantee of safety given by<sup>2</sup> Lugaid Laga, and she struck Uirne with a rod and put her into the shape of a bitch. It was necessary to put her back again into her own form, but it was not possible to change the two whelps out of their canine form, since they had not been struck.

Then Lugaid went over [to Dail n-Araide] and killed the king of Dail n-Araide to avenge his honor; and he had Uirne for himself so that she bore three sons to him, namely, Eogan Ruad and Sciath Breacc mac Dathcháin — for Dathcháin was Uirne's name as a bitch — and Cael Croda. Hence<sup>3</sup> it is that the three sons of Lugaid Laga and Bran and Sceolang were in one womb.

#### THE END

Viewed in the light of historical anthropology it seems evident that the account of Bran and Sceolang is a literary development among the Irish of the belief in Shape-shifting. Under this general head we may include both Transmigration, in which a personality (a) passes into a different body which already exists, or (b) is reborn in a different body, and Transformation — the assumption of another shape for a time. Such phenomena may be found among the very earliest Old Irish texts. The *Imram Brain*, which is doubtless to be placed in the seventh century, says of Monann [*i.e.*, Mongan]:

He will be in the shape of every beast  
Both on the azure sea and on land;  
He will be a dragon before hosts at the onset,  
He will be a wolf of every great forest.<sup>4</sup>

Mongan himself refers to his former life as a deer, a salmon, a seal, and a (roving) wolf [*cú alldaich*] in the *Imacaldaim Calldaoim Cille i ind Oclaig*<sup>5</sup> which Meyer places in the ninth and possibly in the eighth century. Possibly not much younger than the *Imram Brain*, and certainly before 1000 A.D. is the *Scél Túain maic Cairill* wherein Tuan relates to Finnen of Movice that since the time of Partholan he had lived successively in the form of a stag, a boar, a hawk, and a salmon. As a salmon he was eaten by Cairell's wife and was born again as a man.<sup>6</sup> Even

<sup>1</sup> Literally *and*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally *of*.

<sup>3</sup> Literally *so that*.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. tr. K. Meyer in K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *The Voyage of Bran* (London, 1895-1897), 1, p. 24, stanza 53. Monann is identified as Mongan by the gloss and also by lines 2, 4 of stanza 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. tr. K. Meyer, *ZCP*, 11 (1899), 314; 315, 316.

<sup>6</sup> K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *op. cit.*, 11, p. 300, §15.

the famous *Táin Bó Cúalnge* has one of its roots in this ancient material. The *De Chophur in da Muccida*, preserved in *LL* and *Egerton 1782*, gives an account of the transmigrations of the two swineherds into ravens, fish, demons, worms, and bulls.<sup>1</sup> The Rennes *dinnsenchas* of *Áth Luain*, too, informs us that the two sons of Cronn mac Agnomain, when in the form of worms, were drunk up by a cow belonging to Dáire mac Fiachna and by a cow in the possession of Queen Medb, and were reborn as the bulls Whitehorn and Donn. On other occasions these two individuals had had other shapes: When they were swineherds they were called Rucht and Rucne; when they were birds their names were Ette and Engan; Bled and Blod were their names when trout in the Boyne; Crunniuc and Dubmuc when worms, and 'Cu and Cethen were they as dogs.'<sup>2</sup>

An individual mentioned in the eighth century *Fled Bricrend* seems to have been of a somewhat different stripe. Uath mac Imoman, we read, 'used to shift himself into every shape that was pleasing to him, and he used to practise druidisms [*druidecht*] and the arts of magic. Indeed, that one was the wizard from whom is named Belach Muni in t-Siriti; and it is for this reason that he used to be called *siriti* [shape-shifter?] on account of the frequency with which he used to change into many shapes.'<sup>3</sup>

The changing of Mongan, Tuan mac Cairill, and Cu and Cethen into the shapes (among others) of wolves or dogs may not refer to a belief in lycanthropy or kynanthropy. It is rather more likely that the tale of Bran and Sceolang's mother does so refer. Since examples of these phenomena in Irish literature are not numerous, we may avail ourselves of this opportunity to present some of them as illustrations of our story.

Whitley Stokes in certain 'Mythological Notes'<sup>4</sup> quotes (O'Mulconry's *Glossary*, § 269) *H.2.16* [*YBL*, 1391-1399 A.D.], col. 98: *conoel .i. ben tet a conrecht*, and *H.3.18* [16th century], p. 634<sup>b</sup>, col. 3: *conel .i. ben téit i cúánricht*.<sup>5</sup> In these quotations the words *conoel*, *conel*, and *conrecht*, *cúánricht* with which they are equated, call for attention.

The word *conoel* is obviously a compound of *cú*, 'dog,' and *fael* (*faol*), 'wolf.' Though *cú*, when standing alone, is the normal word for 'dog,' it may, in combination (*con-*) mean 'wolf,' according to Meyer, *Contrib.*, p. xxix, citing *Irish Gloss.* 261, as in *con-chró*, 'wolf-trap.' Under the word *cú* Meyer also cites two dubious passages (from *Leabhar Breac*, 202<sup>b</sup> and *Félire*, CXLII) in which *cú* alone might be interpreted 'wolf.' But the evidence for uncombined *cú* meaning 'dog' is overwhelming. We have, then, *conoel* = 'dog-wolf,' though Meyer, *Contrib. s.v.* glosses it 'she-werwolf.'

In *conrecht* we again have a compound composed of *cú*, 'dog,' and *richt* (<*riucht* 'form,' 'shape') wherein the second element *-recht* has been phonologically con-

<sup>1</sup> E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, III, 1 (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 243, lines 245 f., 245, lines 96 f., 257-258.

<sup>2</sup> Cu : Cethen fad ina conaib. See W. Stokes, *RC.*, xv (1894), No. 66, pp. 464-466.

<sup>3</sup> E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I (Leipzig, 1880), 293, lines 11-15.

<sup>4</sup> *RC.*, II (1873-75), 202-203.

<sup>5</sup> See also Stokes' Notes to *Cóir Anmann*, §115, *I.T.*, III, 2, 421, and D. A. Binchy, *Ériu*, XII (1934), 65.

taminated by *recht*, 'law.' The proper form of the word is *conricht*. Hence *conrecht*, *conricht* = 'dog-shape.' But since *cú* in combination may possibly mean 'wolf,' *conrecht*, *conricht* may perhaps also mean 'wolf-shape,' as Meyer, *Contrib. s.v.* glosses it, citing O'Mulconry [*H.2.16*], *Irish Nennius* [Do Ingantaib Erenn, BB 140<sup>b</sup>] and *Cóir Anmann*, though for the same word in *Scéla na Esergi* he gives the meaning 'werwolf.'

On the basis of what has just been set forth the phrase in *H.2.16* would seem to mean: 'a (female) dog-wolf, that is, a woman who goes into the shape of a dog (or wolf).'

In the quotation from *H.3.18* the word *conel* is doubtless a scribal blunder for *con[foel]*. As regards the first component of *cúanricht* there is more difficulty. It may represent *cú* plus the diminutive *án*, and if so *cúan* would mean 'little dog' ('little wolf?'). Or it may be *cuan*, 'pack' or 'litter' of dogs (or wolves), according to Meyer, *Contrib.*, p. 543. Or the whole word may be composed of *cú*, 'dog,' and *anricht*, 'bad form.' Probably, however, it should be written *cuanricht*, and that is doubtless a bad spelling for *conricht*.

For *H.3.18*, then, we have the meaning: 'a (female) dog-wolf, that is, a woman who goes into the shape of a (little?) dog (or wolf).'

Thus far the evidence for the interpretation of *conrecht*, *conricht* as 'dog-shape' is about equal to that in favor of 'wolf-shape.' But the scribe of *Bretha Crólige* found it necessary to equate *conrechta* with *confael* ('dog-wolf'), and the *Do Ingantaib Erenn* (BB 140<sup>b</sup>) equates *faelcon* (Gen. sg. of *faelchú*) not only with *conaib* (Dat. pl. of *cú*), but with *conrechtaib* (Dat. pl. of *conricht*). Decisive evidence seems to be offered by *H.3.17*, col. 725, where *conrachtaibh*<sup>1</sup> is explained as *richtaib mac tire*, *mac tire* (and *cú allaid*) being the regular and normal Irish words for 'wolf.' *Cóir Anmann* leaves us in no possible doubt by interpreting *fáeladh .i. í conrachtaibh* as a *rachtaibh na mac tire*.

We may conclude, then, that in the passages quoted the word *conrecht*, *conricht* means 'wolf-shape.'

Cu and Cethen, as the *dinnsenchas* informs us, once lived as dogs,<sup>2</sup> doubtless as one stage in the series of their fated transmigrations. They seem to have changed their forms by inherent divine power. A similar ability to shift shapes was attributed to other individuals, as we have seen in the case of Uath mac Imoman. Perhaps he also was quasi-divine, or at least supernatural, but whatever the source of his power, it was defined by the Christian scribes and clerks as *druidecht*. Originally, it may be presumed, it was not necessary for *druidecht* to operate through a material object, though later a wand, rod, or wisp became the channel through which its effect was achieved.

We read in *The Story of the Crop-eared Dog* regarding the eponymous hero and his brothers: 'Then our step-mother took us with her to a place apart, and apportioned an immense feast of hatred and spite on us, and she put us in the way

<sup>1</sup> Since in Middle Irish every initial *r* tends to be broadened, the first *a* in this compound of *con* and *richt*, as also in the following instances, represents an older *e*, as in the form of the word cited above.

<sup>2</sup> Not as wolves, as Stokes translates, for the Irish word used is *conaib* (Dat. pl. of *cú*), not *conrechtaibh* nor *rachtaibh na mac tire*.

of drunkenness and light-heartedness; and she played druidry [*draoidheacht*] and devilry upon us, so that she put us in the form of five wild dogs, three of us in the form of three male dogs, and the other two in the form of two bitches.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to observe that a little later in the story the step-mother's *draoidheacht* is interpreted as a *geis*.

The three daughters of Airitech, whose tragic story is related in the *Acallamh na Senórach*, seem to have been akin, so far as their shape-shifting powers were concerned, with Uath mac Imoman. On the Hill of the Assembly Cailte met Bairnech mac Cairbh, a man whose hair was rough and gray, doubtless by reason of the troubles which he suffered in his district. When Casscorach had removed one persecution under which he labored, Bairnech explained to him the other: 'Three bitches [*sadha con*] issue every year from the cave of Cruachan and destroy all our wethers and sheep, and we get no chance at them till they retreat again into the cave.' Casscorach recognized the three daughters of Airitech, for whom it was easier to plunder as dogs [*ina conaib*] than as human beings. Upon inquiry it was found that the three bitches were susceptible to nothing but music, so Casscorach, an excellent minstrel, betook himself to Bricriu's Cairn, whether the marauders were wont to come, and performed on his lute. The bitches [*coin*] came and listened to the music, couched on their forelegs. Casscorach persuaded them that since they were humans by origin, the sweetness of the music would appeal to them more forcibly if they listened to it in human rather than in dog form [*conaib*].<sup>2</sup> And they heard this, and cast off the long dark coverings that were round them, for dear to them was the entrancing music of the elves.' And as they were standing there side by side Cailte shot his spear through the three of them, and Casscorach went to them and struck off their three heads.<sup>3</sup>

In his translation of this anecdote (*op. cit.*, pp. 264-266) Stokes calls the women wolves; but since the text says nothing of *confael* [*conoel*] or *conricht*, and uses only the words *sadha con* and *conaib*, we think they were not wolves, but bitches. Nor is it necessary to make them wolves for the sake of the sense, for as pre-natural beings they could worry herds in dog-form as well as in wolf-form. We remember the third whelp littered by the skull of Conganchness, Celtchar's dog Daelchú, the third pest of Ulster; and if it be objected that this is a romantic tale, the same objection can hardly be brought against the *Lebar Aicle*, which makes provisions relating to the control of obstreperous dogs.<sup>4</sup>

Again, in the modern folk-tale 'The Three Daughters of King O'Hara' it was *druidecht* in the hands of the Queen of Tir na n-Og that transformed the hero into the shape of a white dog.<sup>5</sup> The Scots Gaelic 'Nighean Rìgh nan Speur'<sup>6</sup> is in cer-

<sup>1</sup> *Eachtra an Mhadra Mhaoil*, ed. tr. R. A. S. Macalister, *ITS*, x (London, 1908), pp. 40-45. The Irish words used in the quotation are *con allta*, 'wolves,' but throughout the story the hero is referred to as *madra*, 'dog.'

<sup>2</sup> *Acallamh na Senórach*, ed. W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, iv, 1 (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 214-216, lines 7674-7725.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III (Dublin and London, 1873), 415, 417, 519. The significance of *fàel fulla* (E. Gwynn, *The Metrical Dindschenchas*, iv, Dublin, 1924, p. 226, line 3, and Notes, p. 437) is by no means clear.

<sup>4</sup> J. Curtin, *Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland* (Boston, 1917), p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* (London, 1890), I, 208, 214.

tain respects a version of this Irish story, though the circumstances relating to the spelling and unspelling are not clear. Doubtless, references to modern folktales embodying this theme could be increased.

More widely spread and more familiar than kynanthropy is lycanthropy.<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (*Melpomene*, 105), and after him Pomponius Mela (*De Situ Orbis*, II, 1) charged the Neuri with the magical ability of changing themselves into wolves for a few days every year. Vergil attributes to Moeris (*Eclog.* VIII, 97) the power of changing himself into a wolf by the use of certain herbs. St. Augustine struggled with the problem (*Civ. Dei*, XVIII, 17) on the basis of a story he had from Varro. For the purpose of scoffing at the credulity of the Greeks, Pliny, most credulous of men, relates, on the authority of Euanthes and Agriopas, two fearful anecdotes about werwolves (*Hist. nat.*, VIII, 34 [22]). But it is to the bizarre genius of Petronius (*Sat.* 62) that we owe the most fearsome werewolf story in all literature.

Perhaps the earliest Greek reference to werwolves is in the legend which purports to explain the cult of Lycaean Zeus connected with Mt Lycaea in Arcadia.<sup>2</sup> But whether Lycaon or his sons sacrificed a child to Lycaean Zeus, whether Zeus punished Lycaon for his impiety or his inhumanity by changing him into a wolf—as he might have changed him into a boar or a stag—or whether he, as the priest of the wolf-god, was required by his office to personate the god in wolf form for a certain time, are questions which we are neither competent to examine nor obliged to answer. We discern, however, that the popular belief was of two kinds, namely, that men were changed into wolves by reason of a curse, or that they assumed such forms by their own power and will. To this we may add the medical interpretation of *λυκανθρωπία* as a disease in which a man imagines himself to be a wolf, and acts like one, and the similar medical explanation of *νόσος κυνάνθρωπος* as a malady in which a man imagines himself to be a dog. We shall see that it is the folk belief, rather than the learned one, that is reflected in Irish literature.

We are informed by the Four Masters that in Leinster it rained a shower of blood. 'Butter was there also turned to lumps of gore and blood, so that it was manifest to all in general. The wolf was heard speaking with human voice, which was horrific to all.'<sup>3</sup> Showers of blood and lumps of gore are found elsewhere in Irish annals: not so wolves speaking with human voice. In what did the marvel consist? Were wolves, for the nonce, provided with human voice, or had men,

<sup>1</sup> For general references see G. L. Kittredge, [*Harvard*] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VIII (Boston, 1903), p. 169, note, 257, note; W. Herz, *Der Werwolf*, Stuttgart, 1862; S. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Werewolves*, London, 1865; J. A. Mac Culloch, *The Childhood of Fiction* (London, 1905), p. 161, note 2; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, x (London, 1914), 308 f.; Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, II (Bloomington, Indiana, 1933), pp. 12-13; K. F. Smith, 'Historical Study of the Werewolf in Literature,' *PMLA*, ix (1894), 1 f.; Montague Summers, *The Werewolf*, New York, 1934.

<sup>2</sup> See Pausanias, 'Ἑλλάδος Περιήγησις, VII, ii, 1-3; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London, 1898), I, 374-375, IV, 188-190 (The reference to Plato's *Republic* should be VIII, 565 d e, that to Pliny's *Hist. nat.* should be VIII, 34, and for 'Scopas' read 'Agriopas.'). Apollodorus, Βιβλιοθήκη, III, VIII, 1, ed. Sir J. G. Frazer (London and New York, 1921), I, 389-395 and notes on pp. 390-393.

<sup>3</sup> *Annala Rioghachta Eireann*, ed. tr. J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1856), I, 295-297.



all save their voices, been changed into wolves? We cannot decide without the aid of additional evidence. If this be really an allusion to lycanthropy, it is the earliest to which we can give an exact date, for the prodigy occurred, according to the Four Masters, in 'the seventeenth year of Finshneachta,' that is, in 690 A.D. The reader will recall that Mongan's wolf shape is mentioned in a text which also seems to belong to the seventh century.

Equally difficult to interpret is a passage in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, which is regarded as having been current in the eighth century, though its earliest text is that in *LU* [ca 1100]. Conaire Mór's foster-brothers, resentful that Theft and Rapine and Slaughter-of-men had been taken from them under Conaire's just rule, in pride and wilfulness took to marauding. 'Thrice fifty men had they as pupils when they were at marauding like wolves [*oc faelad*] in the province of Connaught, until Maine Milsothach's swineherd saw them, and he had never seen that before. He went in flight.'<sup>1</sup> Professor Thurneysen is of the opinion that *oc faelad* means to go about plundering or despoiling in the way in which wolves plunder or maraud. If these thrice fifty pupils were merely in the shape of men the swineherd might indeed run away in fright. But his flight seems to have been occasioned by *something which he had never seen before!* Was that merely reavers, or was it men in wolf-shape? On the other hand, the text makes no further suggestion that shape-shifting was one of the accomplishments of these marauders.

The statement in *Scéla na Esergi* is clearer. The author of this sermon attempts to satisfy the normal curiosity of the pious parishioner regarding the circumstances of the future life. Not only will men and women arise as of the splendid age of thirty [§§8, 34], and with the proper provision of hair and nails, but so also infants, abortions and monsters [§7]. But the general Resurrection which shall be beyond on the Day of Judgment must not be confused with other kinds of resurrection: It is not Praestrigia, like Pythonism, nor Revolutio, like transmigration, nor Subductio, nor Suscitatio. Nor is it 'the resurrection called Metaformatio, that is, transfiguration, after the example of werwolves.'<sup>2</sup> Whether or not it was such transfigured men who put Maine Milsothach's swineherd to flight, it may have been such whose voices aroused the horror of Finshneachta's subjects.

A text which seems to have been in existence not much later than the fearful occurrence recorded by the Four Masters is the *Bretha Crólige* or *Judgments on Blood-lyings*. It is preserved in *MS. Phillipps 10297* of the National Library of Ireland, and though the manuscript itself was written 1468-1474, the legal tract in question formed a part of the collection of Irish customary law known as the *Senchas Már*. This, according to the best authority on such matters, was compiled in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>3</sup> In §32 the *Bretha Crólige* informs us that there are twelve women who are excluded by the rule of nursing in Irish law. Among these are 'a sharp-tongued virago, a vagrant woman, a werwolf in wolf's shape [*confael conrecta*].' In explanation of these two Irish words the glossator adds, gloss 13: 'that is, a woman in wolf's shape [*i. ben conrecta*], she

<sup>1</sup> W. Stokes, *RC.*, xxii (1901), p. 30, §20.

<sup>2</sup> W. Stokes, *RC.*, xxv (1904), p. 251, §33.

<sup>3</sup> R. Thurneysen, *ZCP.*, xvi (1926), 186.

who likes to stray in wolf-shapes, such as the Í Chon Erca.<sup>1</sup> Almost immediately, §34, the *Bretha Crólige* adds that the nursing fees of these three women are paid according to the social rank of their husbands. The word used for 'werwolf,' *confaol*, is explained by the glossator as 'she who strays abroad in the shape of a wolf' [literally 'dog,' for the words are a *richt chon*]. In an additional note, gloss 8, the glossator asks: 'And why should the werwolf [*confaol*] get anything, she being unlawful?' In spite of the single use of *cú* (*chon*), it seems that both the scribe and the glossator had in mind not a dog, but a wolf.<sup>2</sup>

Whatever confusion may have existed in the minds of those who put their hands to the *Judgments on Blood-lyings*, the 'institution' of the werwolf was well recognized early in the thirteenth century, and was included in the various texts of Irish *mirabilia*. A section of the *De Rebus Hiberniae Admirandis* contained in *MS. Cotton, Titus, D. XXIV* [thirteenth century] devotes fourteen lines to this matter:

Sunt homines quidam Scottorum gentis habentes	
Miram naturam majorum ab origine ductam,	
Qua cito quando volunt ipsos se vertere possunt	
Nequiter in formas lacerantum dente luporum,	
Unde videntur oves occidere saepe gementes;	70
Sed cum clamor eos hominum seu sursus eorum	
Fustibus aut armis terret, fugiendo recurrit.	
Cum tamen hoc faciunt sua corpora vera relinquunt,	
Atque suis mandant ne quisquam moverit illa;	
Si sic eveniat, nec ad illa redire valebunt	75
Si qui eos laedat, penetrent si vulnera quaeque,	
Vere in corporibus semper cernuntur eorum.	
Sic caro cruda haerens in veri corporis ore,	
Cernitur a sociis, quod nos miramur et omnes. <sup>3</sup>	

The circumstances here related seem to have become attached to three distinct groups of individuals—to Laignech Faelad and his descendants, to the clan cursed by St Patrick, and to the Ossorians cursed by St Natalis.

*Cóir Anmann*, though edited only from the late [sixteenth century] *MS. H.3.18*, was perhaps current as early as 1300. In explanation of Laignech Faelad's name it tells us that 'he was the man who used to go into *fáelad*, that is, into wolf-shapes, that is, into the forms of wolves [*mac tìre*] he used to go when it was pleasing to him; and after him his offspring used to go (into such forms), and they used to kill the cattle in the manner of wolves. Hence it is on that account that he is called Laignech Faelad, for he was the first of them who went into the form of a wolf.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We know nothing about the Í Chon Erca; it may be that the glossator here refers to a story similar to that attached to the name of Laignech Faelad; see below, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Bretha Crólige*, ed. tr. D. A. Binchy, *Ériu*, xii (1934), pp. 27, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Part of this poem was printed by T. Wright, *Reliquiae Antiquae* (London, 1845), II, 103-107; see p. 105. What seems to be a version of the same poem (*De Signis et Prodigis et de quibusdam Hiberniae Admirandis*) was printed from a twelfth-century Paris codex by T. Mommsen, *MGH., A.A.*, (Berlin, 1898), XIII, 219-222; see pp. 221-222, vv. 96-109.

<sup>4</sup> W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, III, 2 (Leipzig, 1897), p. 376, §215.

Other details concerning Laignech Faelad and his descendants are mentioned in the twenty-second wonder of the Marvels of Ireland contained in *MS. H.3.17* [fifteenth and sixteenth century], col. 725: 'There are certain people in Erin, viz., the race of Laigne Faelaidh, in Ossory; they pass into the forms of wolves [*a richtaib mac tire*] whenever they please, and kill cattle according to the custom of wolves [*mac tire*], and they quit their own bodies; when they go forth in the wolf-forms [*na conrachaibh*] they charge their friends not to remove their bodies, for if they are moved they will not be able to come again into their bodies; and if they are wounded while abroad, the same wounds will be on their bodies in their houses, and the raw flesh devoured while abroad will be in their teeth.'<sup>1</sup> These circumstances are related more briefly and without definite names in the *Do Ingantaib Erenn*, reported by the Book of Ballymote, 140<sup>b</sup>, from the Book of Glendalough [an old name for the Book of Leinster]. The words used for 'wolf' and 'wolves' are *faelcon conaib altaid* and *conrechaib*.<sup>2</sup>

These accounts seem very similar to that in the *De Rebus Hiberniae Admirandis*. It may be that the learned Norwegian author of the *Speculum Regale* or *Konungs Skuggsjá* [ca 1250] drew an anecdote which had become attached to the name of St Patrick from a similar text of Irish *mirabilia*.

'It is told,' he says, 'that when the holy Patricius preached Christianity in that country [Ireland], there was one clan which opposed him more stubbornly than any other people in the land; and these people strove to do insult in many ways both to God and to the holy man. And when he was preaching the faith to them as to others . . . they adopted the plan of howling at him like wolves. When he saw that he could do very little to promote his mission among these people, he grew very wroth and prayed to God to send some form of affliction upon them to be shared by their posterity as a constant reminder of their disobedience. Later these clansmen did suffer a fitting and severe, though very marvelous, punishment, for it is told that all the members of that clan are changed into wolves for a period, and roam through the woods feeding upon the same food as wolves; but they are worse than wolves, for in all their wiles they have the wit of men, though they are as eager to devour men as to destroy other creatures. It is reported that to some this affliction comes every seventh winter, while in the intervening years they are men; others suffer it continuously for seven winters all told, and are never stricken again.'<sup>3</sup>

In this connection one recalls the shameful *faghbala agus geasa* which, according to Egan O'Rahilly, Patrick bequeathed to Clan Thomas,<sup>4</sup> and even less lovely portraits of the saint are presented in the *Tripartite Life*.<sup>5</sup> With such a prototype it was perhaps inevitable that some of the later saints, according to their 'lives,' should demean themselves in ways which strike us with astonish-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by J. H. Todd, *The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum of Nennius* (Dublin, 1848), p. 204 note p. In the same note, p. 205, Todd gives other references to lycanthropy.

<sup>2</sup> See Todd, *op. cit.*, pp. 204, 205, §XIV: 'Sil in Faelcon i n-Osraigibh. Ata aisdi ingnad acu. Delbait iat i conaib altaid, ⁊ tiagait iat i conrechaib, ⁊ dia marbthar iat ⁊ feoil ina m-belaib is amlaid bid na cuirp as a tiagat; ⁊ aithnit dia muinteraib nar rogluister na cuirp, air dia n-gluaster ni thicfadsum chucu semper.'

<sup>3</sup> L. M. Larson, *Speculum Regale: Konungs Skuggsjá* (New York, 1917), pp. 115, 116. See K. Meyer, *Eriu*, iv (1910), pp. 10-11, §17.

<sup>4</sup> *Eachtra Chloinne Thomháis*, ed. tr. P. S. Dinneen, *ITS.*, III (London, 1900), pp. 236-239.

<sup>5</sup> See especially W. Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (London, 1887), I, 235 ad fin.

ment. Adamnan would not tell a lie, but he would curse a king and fast on him to cut short his life.<sup>1</sup> One time Féchín was in his cell praying when he heard the noise of children hurling on the green beside the cell, and they disturbed him at his devotions. 'I permit you,' said Féchín, 'to go and be drowned in the lake, and your souls will be free to ascend to heaven.' Then the children went into the lake and they were drowned.<sup>2</sup> Between the protervity of Berach and that of Mac Creiche there is little to choose.<sup>3</sup>

So, too, it seems that St Natalis or Naal [sixth century] possessed a similarly vindictive or irascible temper, and that he acted in accordance with tradition in laying his curse. And for the nature of the curse, also, he appears to have had the earlier example of St Patrick. Giraldus Cambrensis, who is our only authority, tells the story in his own way, that is, some things he omitted, and some things he added.

About three years before the arrival of Earl John in Ireland,<sup>4</sup> writes Giraldus, a certain priest was benighted in a wood on the borders of Meath. While watching by the fire with his lad, they were approached by a wolf, who saluted them in Christian fashion. In reply to the priest's inquiry the wolf explained that by reason of St Natalis' curse a man and a woman of the district of Ossory had been compelled every seven years to put on the forms of wolves and quit the habitations of men. If at the end of seven years they had survived, they returned to their human form, and two other individuals were substituted in their places. In the present instance the wolf's female companion was dangerously ill, and needed the consolations of the priest's office. The priest, at the werwolf's urgent request, visited her and vouchsafed to her all the rites of the church save the last communion. This he could not bring himself to administer till the male werwolf, using his paw as a hand, stripped the wolf-skin from his companion as far as the waist, revealing the form of an old woman. The priest, assured, now administered the holy water, whereupon the werwolf rolled back the skin again and fitted it to its original form. In gratitude for these offices the werwolf gave the priest and his boy the pleasure of his company and conversation during the remainder of the night, behaving more like a man than a beast, and when morning came, led them out of the wood.<sup>5</sup>

Those who took (and take) exception to Giraldus' 'credulity' should be comforted by the attitude to this matter of two famous Elizabethans. At the close of his disquisition on the county of Tipperary in the section of his history called 'Ireland and the Smaller Islands in the British Ocean' William Camden writes: 'Whereas some of the Irish and such as would be thought worthy of credit, doe

<sup>1</sup> J. O'Donovan, *Annals of Ireland: Three Fragments* . . . (Dublin, 1860), pp. 101-103; S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica* (London, 1892), II, 442.

<sup>2</sup> *Betha Féchín Fabair*, ed. W. Stokes, *RC.*, XII (1891), p. 349, §43.

<sup>3</sup> C. Plummer, *Bethada Náem n-Érenn* (Oxford, 1922), I, 23-43; idem, *Miscellanea Hagiographica Hibernica*, Bruxelles, 1925. See also Giraldus Cambrensis, *Top. Hib.*, II, 55.

<sup>4</sup> This would be ca 1182, for according to the *Annals of Ulster* and the Four Masters, John arrived in Ireland in 1185.

<sup>5</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hibernica*, ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Series, London, 1867), v, 101-103.

affirme, that certaine men in this tract are yeerely turned into Wolves; surely I suppose it to be a meere fable: unlesse haply through that malicious humour of predominant unkinde Melancholie, they be possessed with the malady that the Phisitions call *λυκανθρωπια*, which raiseth and engendreth such like phantasies, as that they imagine themselves to be transformed into Wolves.<sup>1</sup>

Fynes Moryson, a student and admirer of Camden's *Britannia*, is equally skeptical concerning the werwolves of the adjoining territory of Kilkenny, and assigns the same explanation for the belief in them. 'It is ridiculous,' he says, 'which some Irish (who will be beleaved as men of credit) report of Men in these parts [Kilkenny, Ossory, Ormond] yeerely turned into Wolves, except the abundance of melancholy humor transports them to imagine that they are so transformed.'<sup>2</sup>

The skeptical Englishmen, Camden and Moryson, might rationalize the werwolf 'institution' as much as they pleased, but their attitude found no reflection in the folk-tales of the Irish themselves. As late as 1898 Larminie recorded the story (told to Morraha) of a man transformed into a wolf — among other shapes — by his faithless spouse.<sup>3</sup> In 1894 Curtin had already printed the analogous story of Balor's transformation at the hands of his wife.<sup>4</sup> Probably the list of such folk-tales could be considerably extended.<sup>5</sup>

We have come a long way from Bran and Sceolang and must now return to them. It seems clear that they have intimate relationships with the transfigured beings — dogs or wolves — with whose fortunes we have been engaged in the preceding pages. But it is worthy of note that they differ from the majority of that company in important respects: Their dog shapes were not stages in a series of transmigrations, they were the victims of a curse laid upon their mother by a person who employed *druidecht*; and while in the other cases which we have reviewed the curse of kynanthropy or lycanthropy was liable to removal after a period, Bran and Sceolang were condemned to dog form forever, since, in the womb, they had not been touched by the transforming rod. The shanachie's knowledge of gestation is as faulty as his logic, but we need not spoil the story by forcing the issue. Hence, while some *faelcain* were eventually released from their bestial shapes, or assumed them only periodically, Bran and Sceolang were condemned to die as they had lived, in the form of dogs.

In the 'Chase of Thrush Glen' we read that the Fiana loosed their dogs and started a doe. The fact that the deer was half black and half white should have served as a premonition of evil. Indeed, when Finn had chewed his thumb of knowledge, he was able to report to Conan that of all the dogs that had followed the doe none would return to them save Bran.

<sup>1</sup> William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographically Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland*, translated by Philemon Holland, London, 1610, p. 83 [of the section mentioned]; R. Gough's ed., London, 1806, iv, 293.

<sup>2</sup> Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary* (Glasgow, 1908, iv, 187), Bk. III, Part iii, ch. 5.

<sup>3</sup> W. Larminie, *West Irish Folk-tales and Romances* (London, 1898), pp. 17-29.

<sup>4</sup> J. Curtin, *Hero-Tales of Ireland* (London, 1894), pp. 331-333.

<sup>5</sup> See W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland* (London and New York, 1902), II, 118 f.; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (London, 1914), x, 315, notes 1 and 2.

'T was not long till we saw coming towards  
 us in the glen,  
 Bran, and he fatigued, weary and wet,  
 And upon his coming into our presence,  
 By thy hand, his appearance was pitiful.  
 He lay down before Fionn,  
 He cried bitterly and howled piteously.<sup>1</sup>

Part of Bran's grief was, no doubt, occasioned by the death of his sister Sceolang.

Bran's own death was perhaps even more tragic. In 'Bran's Departure from the Fian'<sup>2</sup> Finn laments: 'I gave him a blow of a yellow thong decorated with rings of white bronze. The golden circlet entered his head. Woe for him who did the overbearing deed! He wondered at being struck by me; for a while he looked at me, and then streams of tears poured from his piercing eyes. . . . He pulls his leash hastily from me, breaking the silver neck-chain, and soon fleeing along the mountain, plunged with a swift leap into the lake. . . . I have never heard the voice of a hound a-hunting on plain, on bog or spreading slope, since I parted with my bold hound, but that woe would come upon my heart.' We feel that Finn deserves his woe, for the blow which caused Bran to commit suicide seems to have been struck in a fit of childish temper. Even Finn, who relentlessly pursued Diarmuid and Grainne and savagely occasioned the death of his nephew and the woman whom he loved, seems to have been sensible to feelings of contrition in this case, for, as the *Tuarasgabhail Chatha Gabhra* informs us,

Except for Oscur and for Brán  
 He never shed tears for any one on earth.

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<sup>1</sup> *Seilg Ghleanna an Smoil*, J. O'Daly, *TOS.*, vi, 78, 79. Since Bran was a dog and not a bitch, we have made the proper change in the editor's pronouns.

<sup>2</sup> *Duanaire Finn*, Pt. II, no. lvi, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-203, stanzas 11, 12, 14, 16. Cf. N. O'Kearney, *TOS*, II, 63. See also J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*, p. 149, M. 16. The manner of Bran's death is differently related by D. Hyde, *Beside the Fire* (London, 1910), pp. 14 f.

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FLANDERS FROM 1329 TO 1336

By HENRY S. LUCAS

THE diplomatic relations of Edward III of England and Louis de Crecy, count of Flanders (1322-46), between 1329 and 1336 are a neglected phase of the many-sided phenomenon known as the Hundred Years' War. Impressed by the more spectacular aspects of this struggle which lasted four generations, historians<sup>1</sup> have, as a rule, begun their accounts with the blockade of English goods going to Flanders which King Edward instituted in August, 1336,<sup>2</sup> and with the sudden rise of Jacob Van Artevelde, a burgher of Ghent, who endeavored to make Flanders, although a fief of the king of France, a neutral spectator in the great duel between the crowns of England and France.<sup>3</sup> This study aims to relate the story of the diplomatic efforts which Edward III put forth before 1336 in an attempt to establish harmony between his subjects and the Flemings. In addition it offers the text of an important and totally unknown document elucidating many of these activities and incidentally illustrating vividly diplomatic practices characteristic of that period.

It is remarkable that this document,<sup>4</sup> a long notarial act drawn up at Bruges in August, 1334, has escaped the vigilance of Ernst Van Bruyssel and Kervyn de Lettenhove, both of whom made some extensive study of documents dealing with the relations of England and the southern Low Countries, which are preserved in the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London.<sup>5</sup> The document in question is a long roll composed of six membranes of parchment containing 493 fairly compact lines of text.

Special reasons forced Edward to be solicitous of Flemish opinion. Flanders was more thickly populated than any other region of similar area north of the

<sup>1</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Histoire de Flandre*, III. *Époque Communale, 1304-1384* (Brussels, 1847), 159-165; E. le Glay, *Histoire des Comtes de Flandre jusqu'à l'Avènement de la Maison de Bourgogne*, I (Brussels, 1843), Chap. IX; Sir J. Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster, or the Three Reigns of Edward II, Edward III, and Richard II, 1307-1337*, I (Oxford, 1913), 245; T. F. Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the Death of Edward III, 1216-1377* (London, 1905), Chap. XV; K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1926), Chap. VIII; W. Warburton, *Edward III* (London, 1876), pp. 52-56; J. Mackinnon, *The History of Edward the Third, 1327-1377* (London, 1900), pp. 94-117; E. Déprez, *Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans. La Papauté, la France, et l'Angleterre, 1328-1342* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fascicule 86, Paris, 1902), Chaps. III and IV; E. Van Bruyssel, *Histoire du Commerce et de la Marine en Belgique*, I (Brussels, 1861), 318-324; E. Varenbergh, *Histoire de Relations Diplomatiques entre le Comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre au Moyen-Age* (Brussels, 1874), pp. 289-307.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337* (London, 1898), p. 700.

<sup>3</sup> H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347* (Ann Arbor, 1929), pp. 200-203, 219-223, 240-279.

<sup>4</sup> Public Record Office, London, *Chancery Miscellaneous*, 32/10.

<sup>5</sup> E. Van Bruyssel, 'Liste Analytique des Documents Concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique, qui sont conservés au Record Office,' *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou Recueil de Ses Bulletins*, 3<sup>me</sup> Série, I (1860), 95-118; Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Œuvres de Froissart*, 26 vols. (Brussels, 1867-1877), in which numerous documents drawn from many archives are published.

Alps. This was due to the concentration of an extensive commerce and industry in the greater urban centers of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and many smaller towns. Not only were Flemish towns exceptionally large, but every nook and cranny in the chiefly agricultural parts of the county possessed a teeming population.<sup>1</sup> According to calculations made by the late Professor Edward Fueter the average density of population of Flanders at the close of the Middle Ages was about fifty souls per square kilometer<sup>2</sup> and during the opening years of the Hundred Years' War it cannot have been much below this estimate. Mediaeval Flanders, therefore, possessed an advanced type of economic and social organization. Goods were manufactured from raw materials drawn from many lands. The profits gained by selling finished products to all parts of the then known world enabled the Flemings to purchase foodstuffs and other necessities from every land in Europe and even Africa. Flanders became a focal point of world commerce. The lines by the anonymous writer of the *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, written apparently in 1436, referring to this situation are applicable also to Flanders in the fourth decade of the preceding century:

For the lytell londe of Flaundres is  
But a staple to other londes iwys  
And all that groweth in Flaundres, greyn and sede,  
May not a moneth fynde hem mete of brede.<sup>3</sup>

The predominantly agrarian character of England closely bound that realm to Flanders. Wool, hides, wool-fells, and all manner of foodstuffs were exported in return for cloth and other articles. Furthermore, because English relations with the court of France usually were strained over the feudal obligations in which Edward was bound to King Philip VI Flanders was certain to play a decisive rôle. And, finally, insecurity, so prevalent a feature of the economic life of the Middle Ages, rendered intercourse in the lanes of commerce between England and the Low Countries hazardous and so piracy was the subject of constant diplomatic solicitude.

Edward's first serious interest in Flemish affairs, however, sprang from political considerations rather than from economic reasons. The king believed that he had a legitimate right to the crown of France and, in order to enforce his claims, drew near to the Flemings of the coastal sections of Flanders, who in 1323 had risen in rebellion against their count and his feudal lord, the king of France.<sup>4</sup> Edward also opened negotiations with Duke John III of Brabant and

<sup>1</sup> See the judicious remarks by Professor H. Pirenne in comparing the density of the population in the lands along the Flemish coast with those of the Necker and Moselle valleys in his *Le Soulèvement de la Flandre Maritime, 1323-1328. Documents Inédits Publiés avec une Introduction* (Brussels, 1900), pp. lxxviii-lxix. For some interesting statistics, not only for Flanders but for other parts of Europe, see J. Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, I, *Das Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1928), 167-172.

<sup>2</sup> E. Fueter, *Geschichte des Europäischen Staatensystems von 1492-1559* (Munich, 1919), p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye. A Poem on the Use of Sea-Power, 1436*, ed. by Sir G. Warner (Oxford, 1926), p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> H. Pirenne, *Le Soulèvement de la Flandre Maritime, 1323-1328. Documents Inédits Publiés avec une Introduction*, pp. xiv-xxxvi.



other Low Country personages.<sup>1</sup> But the Flemings were beaten by Philip VI in the bloody encounter at Cassel in August, 1328; and Edward went to Amiens in the following year to render homage to Philip for the duchy of Aquitaine.<sup>2</sup> English intrigues with the Flemings now ceased and Flanders was reduced to French obedience. William de Deken, a citizen of Bruges who had discussed treasonable designs with Edward, fled to Brabant, was seized, and ignominiously executed in Paris.<sup>3</sup>

In the next few years, from 1329 to 1336, diplomatic relations were mainly limited to disputes which had their source in trade difficulties. In August, 1328, Edward reconfirmed the charter issued in February 1, 1303, by his grandfather Edward I whereby foreign merchants, including Flemings, were accorded certain rights and privileges while trading in his realm.<sup>4</sup>

During the winter of 1328 and 1329 some Flemings robbed a ship belonging to citizens of Southampton and carried its goods off to the Zwin, a river which at that time connected the port of Bruges with the North Sea. Count Louis of Flanders raised some question about the ownership of this property and the case was tried before his tribunal at Muiden (or Mude), a small town situated near Sluis.<sup>5</sup> Early in 1330 Edward complained that some malefactors of Nieuwport in Flanders had forcibly seized monies equivalent to seventy pounds sterling from a Friar Minor of London who, returning from the papal curia in Avignon, was crossing the Strait of Dover from Wissant to Dover, in those days the most frequently used crossing between England and the continent. Count Louis' envoys promised before Edward's council that fitting satisfaction would be made, but it appears that nothing came of this, whereupon Edward in March again appealed to the count.<sup>6</sup> At about the same time the king also complained of violence perpetrated upon some citizens of London during the reign of his father, Edward II, and on whose behalf the latter had petitioned Count Louis. Edward declared that he did not wish to proceed to extreme measures, that is, confiscate the property of Flemings in England, in order to satisfy the losses of his subjects. He therefore begged the count to indicate what he would do and asked that he send his response by the returning envoy.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. Stein, 'Les Conséquences de la Bataille de Cassel pour la Ville de Bruges et la Mort de Guillaume de Deken, son Ancien Bourgmestre, 1328,' *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire ou Recueil de Ses Bulletins*, 5<sup>me</sup> Série, ix (1899), 647-664; N. de Pauw, 'L'Enquête de Bruges après la Bataille de Cassel, Documents Inédits Publiés,' *ibid.*, 665-704.

<sup>2</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica* . . . , iv, 389-391. The references to this work are drawn from the first edition.

<sup>3</sup> E. Varenbergh, *Histoire des Relations Diplomatiques entre le Comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre au Moyen-Age*, pp. 273-287, and 'Épisodes des Relations Extérieures de la Flandre: Guillaume de Deken, le Bourgeois Négociateur, 1317-1328,' *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts*, 2<sup>me</sup> Série, xxxi (1871), 88-99; also by the same, an article: Guillaume de Deken, *Biographie Nationale*, v (Brussels, 1876), columns 78-81. <sup>4</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera* . . . , iv, 361-364.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls* . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1327-1330, p. 545. For the geography of the Zwin and adjacent parts, see the map in *Notice sur la Carte Géographique et Héraldique du Franc de Bruges, Ouvrage de Pierre Pourbus* (Bruges, 1853).

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls* . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1333, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138. The case apparently dated from 1319.

Soon after this an English ship from Great Yarmouth while sailing to Antwerp in Brabant along the Honte, the then western channel of the Schelde but in modern times the principal mouth, put into the harbor of Biervliet in Flanders in order to buy certain necessaries. Some of the count's subjects entered the ship and forcibly carried off worsted cloth valued at eighty pounds sterling.<sup>1</sup> Not long after this the count's officials arrested another ship of Southampton with its cargo of wine coming from Gascony and proceeding to the Zwin.<sup>2</sup> It must not be assumed, however, that the Flemings were the only people who gave grounds for such complaints. On one occasion early in 1330 some Englishmen plundered an English ship sailing from Southampton to Flanders.<sup>3</sup> Not long after this a number of Frenchmen boarded a ship of Bayonne off Saint-Mathieu on the coast of Brittany and made off with goods valued at eight hundred marks sterling,<sup>4</sup> and during the closing days of 1331, men from Little Yarmouth seized a cargo of salt loaded in a Flemish ship at Poitou and bound for Sluis on the Zwin.<sup>5</sup> It appears, therefore, that during these years there was a normal amount of piratical activity in which the merchants of all countries participated.

During the summer of 1330 the sheriffs of London arrested a number of Flemings, apparently denizens of Bruges,<sup>6</sup> seized their goods, and placed them in custody in Windsor castle, at the royal order.<sup>7</sup> The occasion for this action seems impossible to determine, but was designed to give satisfaction for some debts; the matter apparently was never discussed in subsequent negotiations. Relations during 1331 were unusually peaceful and no violation of the royal safe-conduct of 1328 is recorded. Edward, however, requested Louis to consider the complaint of some sailors who during the reign of Edward II had freighted a ship with wine and grain at Bordeaux and were boldly assaulted in the Downs off Sandwich by a group of Flemings who conveyed the ship and its cargo to the Zwin. Edward II, after repeated requests for satisfaction to Count Robert III (1305-1322), had ordered the arrest of Flemish goods in England in order to meet the demands of his outraged subjects. Edward III was loath to proceed to such extremities and begged Count Louis to state to his messenger what he intended to do in the matter.<sup>8</sup>

From these cases it appears that the difficulties between England and Flanders from 1327 to 1332 were due to piratical activities and other ordinary mercantile difficulties. This suddenly changed, however, during the summer of 1332, when the old struggle between England and Scotland was revived. Supported by the English king, Edward III, John Balliol landed in Scotland early in August and

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1333*, pp. 140-141.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1327-1330* p. 520.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1333*, p. 153.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 423.

<sup>6</sup> This is evident, for at least two of the names, John Skykel and John Acreman, were those of families prominent in Bruges.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1327-1330*, p. 573.

<sup>8</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward II, A.D. 1313-1318*, pp. 385, 456-457; *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1333*, pp. 336-337; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1334*, p. 169.

defeated the Scottish levies at Dupplin Moor. He promised to do homage to Edward and henceforth the Scots carried on a desperate fight for their national existence.<sup>1</sup> This struggle vitally affected the Flemings, who engaged in a lucrative trade with both contestants. They were especially interested in supplying the Scots with warlike materials and other necessaries. English officials were suspicious of strangers and suspected that many Flemings were sending English goods to Scotland. In August, 1332, the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth seized thirty sarplers of wool which had been loaded in Scotland and belonged to the Bardi, a Florentine banking concern, and forty-two sarplers belonging to one Lambert of Sluis (Lambertus del Excluses). Edward, however, was eager to remain on friendly terms with the Italian bankers as well as with the Flemings and so ordered the release of the wool.<sup>2</sup> Early in the following year the royal officials at Kingston-upon-Hull detained a ship loaded with a quantity of wool because they suspected that its Flemish owners had communicated with the Scots. King Edward had ordered a sharp vigilance over all shipping in order to prevent commerce in articles of Scottish origin.<sup>3</sup>

In April, 1333, Edward asked Count Louis and the towns of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres to prevent Flemings from aiding the Scots. Some Scots had invaded England<sup>4</sup> and with them was John Crabbe, a Fleming who, after he had been outlawed from Flanders, for many years engaged as a pirate operating in the lanes of commerce from the North Sea westward to the Bay of Biscay. For a time he lived in Scotland, and at the opening of the Scottish war resided in Berwick. He took part in the operations at Perth in 1332 in support of the Scots.<sup>5</sup> As the war with the Scots might easily be merged with the more serious quarrel with France in which case Flanders would at once become most important, Edward declared himself eager to settle any complaints made by Flemings against his own subjects.<sup>6</sup> In response to this friendly gesture Count Louis sent envoys to England to secure justice for some robberies and murders committed by Englishmen upon Flemings as they were plying their trade along the Flemish coast. Replying to the bearer of the count's letters, Edward early in June promised speedy satisfaction in all cases in which his subjects were guilty of violence. Similar letters were sent to the towns of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres. The king begged Louis to suspend all unfavorable action against Englishmen and release such as were in prison pending negotiations for the settlement of these difficulties.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. H. Vickers, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 149-153; J. Mackinnon, *The History of Edward the Third, 1327-1377*, Chaps. iv and v.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1333*, p. 596.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 35-36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, iv, 561-562.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Domini Walteri de Hemingburgh . . . De Gestis Regum Angliae*, II (London, 1849), 365; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnithon, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. by J. R. Lumby, I (London, 1889) 463-464; *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa a Fundatione usque ad Annum 1396 . . .* ed. by E. A. Bond, II (London, 1867), 366.

<sup>6</sup> *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, I (London, 1814), 233-234.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, p. 115; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, iv, 560.

Edward also announced, on June 7, the appointment of envoys, empowered to act as plenipotentiaries, to Flanders. They were Master John de Hildesle, canon of Chichester and baron of the Exchequer, William de la Pole, merchant of Hull, and Robert de Kelleseye, citizen of London.<sup>1</sup> But even as these efforts to negotiate were being made it proved impossible to avoid further unlawful acts. Edward soon was forced to order the bailiffs of Great Yarmouth to release the goods of certain Flemings, which had been seized and brought to that port.<sup>2</sup> At about the same time a similar mistake was made at Hartlepool and the king commanded the bailiffs of that place to free the wool and hides belonging to some Flemings, provided it was shown that the goods were not intended for the Scots. This order, dated September 8, apparently was made in the light of information gathered by Hildesle, De la Pole, and Kelleseye in Flanders.<sup>3</sup> This also is the date of the letters which Edward sent to his sheriffs in which he set forth the terms of the treaty arrived at by the envoys in Flanders and England. All goods and men arrested were to be released and merchants of each country were to be free to visit the other and carry on trade peaceably and lawfully. These terms were to be proclaimed in the customary places and the sheriffs were instructed to free all prisoners and release all goods seized.<sup>4</sup> It had also been agreed to leave the question of verifying claims to two persons appointed by each party who were to promise on the Gospels that they would truthfully consider all demands arising from violence committed since Edward had performed homage at Amiens on June 9, 1329. They were to meet in York before All Saints' Day. The king thereupon issued an order to his sheriffs early in October to make proclamation in all urban centers and other parts of his realm that such persons as had any complaints against the Flemings should present their claims before the royal commissioners and those of Count Louis on the morrow of All Saints'.<sup>5</sup>

Edward's representatives at the York meeting were Hildesle and De la Pole. Count Louis sent Bloc de Steenland, a knight, to represent him, and a contingent from each of the towns of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres appeared with him. Having come to an agreement, it was determined that Edward should send two envoys with full powers to Flanders in order to settle all disputes. The king appointed two men, Thomas de Brayton and Simon de Stanes, to meet with the count's agents and those of the towns.<sup>6</sup> Count Louis appointed Master Paulinus de la Mote, canon of St Donatian's Church in Bruges, and John de Harlebek, a burgher of Bruges. Negotiations proceeded amicably and such claims as were presented by the Flemings were favorably considered. Progress was blocked, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 52, 115-116; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 561-562. For the delegation sent by Ghent to Bruges to confer with the English envoys, see *Gentsche Stads- en Baljuwsrekeningen bezorgd door J. Vuylsteke, 1280-1336*, II (Ghent, 1900), 840.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 172-173; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 576.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 177-178; T. Rymers, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 578-579.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1330-1334*, p. 479; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 582.

because Count Louis had not given his agents power to execute the decisions of the envoys and nothing further could be accomplished for the moment.

Early in January, 1334, Edward appointed Robert de Scarborough to take the place of Thomas de Brayton and instructed him with Simon de Stanes to proceed to Flanders and treat with Count Louis' agents.<sup>1</sup> All other questions as well as those that had risen since Edward's homage at Amiens were to be settled.<sup>2</sup> Robert de Scarborough soon was removed for some unmentioned reason and his place was taken by William Fox, a merchant of York, who, accompanied by Simon de Stanes, proceeded to Flanders on February 8.<sup>3</sup> Discussions were held at Oudenaarde where Count Louis was stationed during the greater part of February and whither Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres also sent envoys to confer with the English delegates. There also were meetings at Bruges after those at Oudenaarde were finished.<sup>4</sup> All questions were discussed at great length, it appears, but no final decision was reached. Count Louis for some reason refused to proceed on the bases set forth in the indentures which had been drawn up by his own envoys and Hildesle and De la Pole. Finally, it was agreed at Bruges that each prince should grant his safe-conduct from March 16 until the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15) to such subjects of the other as should come to trade peacefully and lawfully in his lands. Proclamation was thereupon made in Flanders by Count Louis on March 23 and safe-conduct extended to the merchants of all lands save the duchy of Brabant with which he was at war and against whose subjects he was taking energetic reprisals.<sup>5</sup> Apprized of this action by the count's letter close, Edward on April 5 ordered all his sheriffs to proclaim in the customary manner and in the usual places that Flemings might safely come and trade in his realm.<sup>6</sup>

As the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin drew near, Edward took steps to send another delegation to Flanders. He appointed Simon de Stanes, Simon Fraunceys, a citizen of London, and Master Henry Colchester with full powers to arrange a definitive settlement of all questions pending between the two countries during the twenty years preceding the date of these letters.<sup>7</sup> It is with the experiences of this embassy that the document printed at the close of this article is concerned.

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, p. 189; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, iv, 587-588.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D., 1330-1334*, p. 479; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, iv, 582.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, p. 220; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, iv, 606-607. <sup>4</sup> *Gentsche Stads- en Baljuwsrekeningen bezorgd door J. Vuylsteke, 1280-1336*, II, 989.

<sup>5</sup> S. A. Waller Zeper, *Jan van Henegouwen, Heer van Beaumont. Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de Erste Helft der Veertiende Eeuw* (The Hague, 1914), pp. 121-139; H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347*, pp. 133-166.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 306-307; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, iv, 607.

<sup>7</sup> P. van Duyse et E. de Busscher, *Inventaire Analytique des Chartes et Documents appartenant Auz Archives de la Ville de Gand* (Ghent, 1867), No. 379; E. Varenbergh, *Histoire des Relations Diplomatiques entre le Comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre au Moyen-Age*, pp. 442-443; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1334-1338*, pp. 1-2.

When the envoys arrived in Bruges on August 14 and presented themselves before the count's bailiff, Thierry de Belsele, they found that Count Louis had made no preparations for their arrival. Later it appeared that the war with the duke of Brabant, in progress since the opening of the year, had absorbed all his energies. Having no instructions, the bailiff declared that he could do nothing, but stated that Count Louis would be in Ghent within three days. He had gone to Amiens to be present at the negotiations which had been opened there by the numerous enemies of Duke John of Brabant under the auspices of Philip VI of France.

Finding that no further progress was possible in this quarter, the delegates next presented themselves at the house of William de la Stuve, burgomaster of Bruges, showed him the royal letters recommending them to the magistrates of Bruges, and asked that he convoke his colleagues, the scabini and the consuls, to hear the contents of the royal letters. De la Stuve declared that as it was late (*post prandium*) they could not proceed with such business, handed back the royal letters, and stated that he would assemble the magistrates on the morrow, the fifteenth. De Stanes then presented the chancellor's letter relating to the robberies which had been committed and De la Stuve promised to peruse the document.

Next day the magistrates received the English envoys at the first hour. The latter, after presenting their letters, retired to permit the magistrates to deliberate, and after a long interval were summoned into their presence and were asked if they had anything further to exhibit. De Stanes thereupon recounted at some length the course of the negotiations carried on by William de la Pole and William Fox and the circumstances of their own mission. Again the envoys withdrew and the magistrates discussed his statement. After another long interval they were recalled. Some question was raised about their authority to act in these matters whereupon De Stanes again presented the letters issued at Windsor bearing the date of the fifth of August whereby Fraunceys and himself had been given full power to settle the points at issue.

Count Louis, however, had named no deputies and De Stanes feared that his labors would prove vain. He asked whether the magistrates would extend the truce which had just come to an end. This proved impossible, for such extension could not be granted without the count's mandate. Question was raised whether the English envoys possessed power to negotiate for an extension of the truce. De Stanes and his associates held that their instructions covered this point. They refused to exhibit their letters to parties who manifestly had no commission from Count Louis and the towns of Ghent and Ypres. They pointed out that the English king had repeatedly shown his good intentions by sending envoys to Flanders, and that, although Count Louis and the three towns had promised to send representatives to England before Pentecost to negotiate for a settlement of the disputes and had failed to do so, the king nevertheless had shown his good will by sending the present representatives to Flanders. These pointed words made some impression, for De la Stuve and his colleagues declared that they would immediately send to the count for the necessary instructions.

The discussion next turned to difficulties encountered at the English court in securing settlement for the arrest of Flemish goods at Great Yarmouth and Hartlepool, which involved the very large sum of £950 sterling. This case had been discussed between De la Stuve and De Stanes in Bruges after the meetings at Oudenaarde were finished. De Stanes had promised that the matter would be expedited, but the delay so annoyed the men of Bruges that it made dispatch of business almost impossible. De Stanes replied that everything possible had been done by the king before whom suit had been made at Perth (or St John as it was then called). The matter had been brought up in the proximate meeting of the royal council, but the archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor,<sup>1</sup> had been sent on mission to the king of France and had not returned until about a week before the present envoys were ordered to Flanders. The chancellor was surprised that the matter had not progressed, but had promised that it would be expedited. Delay had been occasioned by the fact that Hartlepool lay within the Palatinate of Durham and the royal writs had no currency there.<sup>2</sup> In the case of the claims at Great Yarmouth, an error had been made in the prosecution of the complaint as a consequence of which it was pointed out that the Flemings might have lost their plea. De Stanes suggested that if the magistrates would send a representative with them on their return to England the matter would be expedited. De la Stuve proposed that the English merchants staying in Bruges should assist the prosecution by advancing £30 or £40 or two pence from each sack of wool brought to Bruges. De Stanes' instructions, however, did not cover this point; nevertheless he expressed a willingness to discuss this proposition with the merchants and ascertain their wishes and on the morrow report to the magistrates who adjourned business until the next day, the sixteenth.

But the merchants, called together early in the refectory of the Carmelites, strenuously held that they were entirely blameless in their relations with the Flemings and that they ought not to contribute anything. De Stanes and his colleagues and the notary proceeded to the magistrates who through their spokesman, De la Stuve, suggested that if six of the merchants should obligate themselves personally, satisfaction would be given within a stipulated time. They were to tarry within the castlery of Bruges and not leave until all damages and expenses incurred had been satisfied. This method was deemed too difficult for the commissioners to carry out, nor did it comport with the royal honor. De Stanes, however, offered to bring the English merchants in Bruges together again and in the presence of the magistrates, if they should wish, ascertain what might be done, saving the rights of the king. One point was to be conceded before this step could be taken; De Stanes required that they give the merchants of England the customary safe-conduct.

The magistrates again declared that they would ask Count Louis to come to them or send delegates provided with ample power to proceed with the questions in suspense as had been agreed upon in the conferences at Oudenaarde.

<sup>1</sup> John Stafford was archbishop of Canterbury from 1333 to 1348.

<sup>2</sup> For the Palatinate of Durham, see G. T. Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham. A Study of Constitutional History* (London, 1900).

All English merchants and also the commissioners were to be given safe-conduct valid only within the jurisdiction of Bruges but not in other parts of Flanders. De Stanes and his company thereupon left the magistrates, stating that they had letters from the king directed to the count himself and that they would not take any further action until he or his delegates should arrive.

After dinner the merchants were called before De Stanes, who, in the presence of De la Stuve, related to them the new proposal of the magistrates. The merchants at once elected eight of their own number to discuss it and make proper reply, promising under penalty of losing their goods, to regard as binding whatever the eight would agree to do. This committee decided, however, that they could not entertain the request. They thought that without official authorization they could not act with the king's envoys without incurring the royal displeasure and possibly win the hostility of their fellows. Furthermore, they could not take any action which might place the stigma of blame upon persons who were not guilty, nor could they force anyone to contribute in the restitution intended if he had had no share in the robberies. And, finally, in view of these facts, any action begun on such unsubstantial grounds might occasion the English merchants staying in Bruges, or its castelry, and even in other parts of Flanders the loss of their goods. They declared that they were ready, however, to write to England and urge a speedy settlement. De la Stuve expressed himself satisfied with their response and the meeting was closed.

Discussions at Bruges now being terminated for the time being, the English envoys accompanied by the notary Henry proceeded to Ghent, for they had a letter from Edward to that corporation. At the first hour, on August 18, they presented themselves in the hall of the scabini and handed over their letters. The count's bailiff, Peter de Pratis (or De Pré),<sup>1</sup> read them and Simon de Stanes recited at length the steps which had been taken at Bruges. But the bailiff declared that the magistrates of Bruges had not informed them of their arrival, and to the petition of the royal commissioners that English merchants be granted safe-conduct, replied that such could not be accorded either within the town of Ghent or in its castelry without the count's special mandate. Nor did they know for certain where the count might be found at that moment. They expected to see him in Ghent before the following Monday, the twenty-second; at Oude-naarde, however, the envoys might have more accurate news of him. Having noted these facts in the presence of witnesses, the envoys next proceeded to Oude-naarde and arrived in the evening of the very same day. They inquired at the castle where they might find the count and learned from the custodian and the count's son that for some time the count had been at Amiens but that they were uncertain how long he would stay there or where he would go next. These facts also were taken down by the notary in the presence of witnesses, and the envoys set out after dinner.

Upon their arrival in Amiens, they had an audience with Count Louis in the priory of St Denis. He received them graciously and promised to give his reply af-

<sup>1</sup> Not mentioned by H. Nowé, *Les Baillis Comtaux de Flandre des Origins à la Fin de XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Brussels, 1928), p. 379.



ter mass. Meanwhile they called upon Count Reginald of Guelders, King Edward's brother-in-law,<sup>1</sup> and presented the royal letters addressed to him. They begged him to use his influence with Count Louis and recounted in detail all the steps of the negotiations. Accompanied by Count Reginald, they went to the priory, presented the royal letters to Count Louis, who was accompanied by his council, and proceeded to review the negotiations beginning with the indentures made when John de Hildesle and Richard de la Pole had acted as Edward's agents and which the count had subsequently declared null and void. They also related what had been done at Bruges. Count Reginald thereupon urged Count Louis to expedite the settlement as conceived in the meetings at Oudenaarde. De Stanes proposed that indentures be drawn up and sealed so that a proper basis of action might be established. The count decided to defer his answer until the following morning, but ordered his councillors to confer with him about the indentures. Although minor changes had been introduced into them, their substance remained unchanged; but no agreement was possible, for the councillors for some reason insisted on treating them as annulled. In spite of much discussion De Stanes could make no progress; he and Simon Fraunceys declared that they would rather return without accomplishing anything than to continue these futile negotiations.

Count Louis again met the envoys early the next morning. He told them that as soon as he had been informed of their arrival he had sent his uncle, Guy of Flanders,<sup>2</sup> to Bruges; there they would find delegates from Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres armed with sufficient power to do whatever was necessary. Annoyed by this turn, De Stanes made some pointed remarks. This was the ninth day, he said, since their arrival in Flanders; they had found no envoys at Bruges; they had been at great pains to ascertain where the count was; they were very tired; many days had passed since the date on which an agreement should have been made; their mounts were weary and some of them had been lost; and finally, they learned that the indentures which were to serve as the basis of negotiations were not to be honored. They complained that the attitude of the count's council had varied so much that no consistent policy was evident. To begin negotiations anew would involve such long delays and necessitate retracing so many steps which had already been taken that the present envoys would not be able to bring them to a definitive settlement. De Stanes suggested that the views of both king and count should be exchanged so that their councils might deliberate upon them and that the term of the truce should be extended until agreement upon the indentures could be attained. This proposal seemed satisfactory, and

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor, Edward III's sister, had married Reginald count of Guelders in 1332. See H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347*, pp. 98-101; and especially E. W. Safford, 'An Account of the Expenses of Eleanor, Sister of Edward III, on the Occasion of Her Marriage to Reginald, Count of Guelders,' *Archaeologia or Miscellaneous Facts Relating to Antiquity*, 2d Series, xxvii (1928), 111-140.

<sup>2</sup> He was a younger son of Guy de Dampierre, count of Flanders (d 1305). For the children of Count Guy, see L. Vanderkindere, *La Formation Territoriale des Principautés Belges au Moyen-Age*, 2d ed., I (Brussels, 1902), 319-322.

the royal letter giving the envoys full power was exhibited to the count's councillors who scrutinized it minutely.

Count Louis now declared that he wished to consider the matter further and promised to give his answer after his siesta. Count Reginald of Guelders was still with the English envoys and Count William of Juliers, brother-in-law of Edward III,<sup>1</sup> also had joined them. Reginald proceeded to plead in behalf of the envoys, and Count Louis on the twenty-second granted an extension of the truce until Pentecost in 1335 and instructed his chancellor to draw up the necessary letters. The envoys next requested of Count Louis that letters be drawn up directing his officials to proclaim the truce in the customary parts of Flanders. The notary Henry, it was duly stated, saw these letters before they received the seals.

Having finished their tasks at Amiens, the envoys betook themselves to Ypres and appeared on the twenty-fifth of August before the magistrates of that town who, it was learned, had not yet heard about their arrival. The envoys requested them to proclaim the granting of the peace and the safe-conduct for English merchants; although declaring they they could not do this without the count's special mandate, the magistrate promised that the merchants would not be harmed in Ypres and its castelry.

The envoys appeared in Bruges on the following day, the twenty-sixth, and presented themselves before Guy of Flanders requesting him to proclaim the peace just granted in Amiens. On the twenty-seventh Guy and the magistrates of Bruges met De Stanes and Fraunceys in the count's house (*manerium*) in Bruges. Representatives from Ghent<sup>2</sup> and Ypres also had arrived by this time. The Flemings went into a long consultation and at about twelve o'clock the envoys were called before them. A claim was now brought forward arising from the arrest of two Flemish ships at Great Yarmouth, the detention of their cargoes to the value of £2000 sterling, and the death of several men. This produced a loud hubbub in which the Flemings all participated. To the envoys it appeared that the claim was advanced merely to obstruct the progress of negotiations. When they pressed for details to be set forth in writing it was soon discovered that these statements widely exaggerated the case. At the beginning of the discussion it was stated that the goods belonged to William de la Stuve, but this was speedily affirmed to be erroneous. The ships and their cargoes had been released and their masters had during a space of six weeks expended but £12 in making their prosecutions.

Finally, Guy of Flanders returned to the business in hand, that of the safe-conduct to be granted to English merchants and the truce which had been extended to Pentecost of 1335. He now asked that the envoys exhibit letters of the king granting Fleming the privileges which Count Louis had given to the Eng-

<sup>1</sup> William, count of Juliers, was married to Johanna, daughter of William, count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland; she was a sister of Philippa, and therefore Count William of Juliers was a brother-in-law of Edward III as well as Count Reginald of Guelders.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentsche Stads- en Baljuwsrekeningen bezorgd door J. Vuytsteke, 1280-1336*, II, 960-961, and footnote.

lish; before this was done no proclamation of peace could be made. To this unexpected demand De Stanes replied that the privileges of Flemings in England were well known to the magistrates, for they were recorded in their communal archives, in those of the count of Flanders, and also in the house of the clerk of the English Staple in Bruges. No question had ever been raised about them. As for the safe-conduct by King Edward to the Flemings, De Stanes replied that too much time had been wasted in futile discussions and vain waiting since his arrival in Flanders to permit any further delay. He again requested Guy of Flanders to proclaim the extension of the truce in Bruges and promised, as soon as he had set foot in England, to publish a similar statement for Flemish merchants in England. The envoys then would hasten to the royal presence and secure the sending of writs to every shire and port. But Guy of Flanders refused to entertain this suggestion and insisted that no proclamation would be made until King Edward's letter was received in Flanders.

Thus the efforts of De Stanes and Fraunceys seemed blocked and the envoys prepared to leave. After they had left the count's house and while they were standing in the open space before it, De Stanes asked William de la Stuve to send an agent to hasten the settlement of his case. William now recounted everything. He had received a settlement of his claim, being promised by certain men of Great Yarmouth £950 sterling. But the latter could not produce this sum and sent agents to Bruges to make some explanation. The result of their representations was that a final settlement, of which an indenture was drawn up, was made for £300 and all further claims dropped. But the men of Great Yarmouth subsequently seized some other goods belonging to De la Stuve and kept them, pretending that the £300 had been wrongfully taken from them. De la Stuve held that, as the agreement between himself and the men of Great Yarmouth had been broken, his goods should be restored and the original claim of £950 less the £300 which had been paid be secured for him. De Stanes told him that had this matter been properly presented before the king's council these promises would have been speedily fulfilled.

The sure guidance of notarial depositions now comes to an end and we must rely upon laconic proclamations and letters of credence. De Stanes brought the results of his negotiations to the royal attention, and on September 27, the king and his council issued order to the sheriffs to proclaim in ports and other proper places a safe-conduct to Flemings. Count Louis' proclamation was made but it is uncertain when, for Edward's command to his sheriffs speaks as if it had been done on August 22, which, as is evident from the foregoing account, actually was prevented by Guy of Flanders.<sup>1</sup> That such proclamation was made is certain, however, for we hear nothing further about the matter. Meanwhile the efforts of English officials continued to stop all trade with the Scots from English parts in which Flemish subjects were concerned. On one occasion at least the king was forced to check the zealous acts of his agents.<sup>2</sup> Early in 1335 he issued commissions of Oyer and Terminer to inquire who of his subjects had plundered

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 346-347.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 348-349.

a Spanish ship sailing from Flanders.<sup>1</sup> It appears that the king and his officials faithfully sought to treat Flemings justly.<sup>2</sup>

As Pentecost, the term set by Count Louis in the negotiations with De Stanes and Fraunceys at Amiens, drew near, Edward again appointed envoys to bring the questions pending between the two countries to a satisfactory conclusion. The mission was composed of four men, William Fox, William de la Pole, John de Causton, and William Preston of whom three or even two were authorized to transact business provided that William Fox be one of them. Their negotiations were to be based upon the points reached by William de la Pole, John de Hildesle, Blok de Steenland, and the delegates from Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres.<sup>3</sup> It appears that the questions were not solved; nothing was accomplished beyond extending the truce until Christmas of 1336 and that by a fortnight after Easter the king's and count's deputies should seek a settlement.<sup>4</sup> From Perth Edward notified Count Louis of his safe-conduct to Flemish subjects during this period and instructed his sheriffs and the warden of the Cinque Ports to proclaim this fact in the customary manner and places.<sup>5</sup>

During the spring of 1336, however, Edward was so involved in difficulties with Scotland that he could not take notice of Flemish problems. Accordingly late in March he asked Count Louis to postpone the discussions which were to take place a fortnight after Easter until the Feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist.<sup>6</sup> A month later he appointed William Fox and John de Percebrigg to bring the discussions with Count Louis to a happy conclusion.<sup>7</sup> Apparently nothing was accomplished by this mission and the basic difficulties remained unsolved. By this time the war with Scotland and the strained relations with France were leading Edward into war with Philip VI. Inevitably Flanders with its industrial development, its military power which had been considerable ever since the Battle of Courtrai in 1302 in spite of the bloody defeat at Cassel in 1328, its geographical position, its feudal relations with the crown of France, and its economic dependence upon English wool, hides, wool-fells, and even foodstuffs became a focal point in the dispute. To force Count Louis, a loyal vassal of King Philip VI, Edward instituted an embargo in August, and relations became more bitter.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in opposition to the best economic and social interests of Flanders, Louis in September, 1336, cast English merchants sojourning in his lands into prison.<sup>9</sup> Out of this situation arose Jacob Van Artevelde at the close of 1337 to assert the neutrality of Flanders in spite of its feudal dependence on France, in an effort to preserve the economic progress of the land.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1334-1338*, pp. 140, 144.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 416-417, 419, 486; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1334-1338*, p. 103; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 645-646.

<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1334-1338*, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, pp. 510, 523; T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 661-662, 672.

<sup>6</sup> T. Rymer, *Foedera . . .*, IV, 693-694.

<sup>7</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls . . . , Edward III, A.D. 1333-1337*, p. 700.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 713.

<sup>9</sup> H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-1347*, pp. 200-203, 219-223, 240-279; 'The Sources and Literature on Jacob Van Artevelde,' *SPECULUM* VIII (1933), 125-149.

NOTE.—I wish to thank my friend the late Professor James F. Willard for having my reading of the text checked with the original in the Public Record Office.

TEXT

In nomine domini, amen. Noverint universi per hoc publicum instrumentum quod quartodecimo die mensis Augusti videlicet die dominica in vigilia Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis statim post horam nonam eiusdem diei anno ab incarnatione domini eiusdem millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> trecesimo quarto secundum cursum ecclesie Anglicane indictione secunda pontificatu sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini nostri domini Johannis divina providencia pape xxij<sup>di</sup>, anno xvij, in villa de Bruges in Flandria, Tornacensis diocesis, ac in presencia mei Henrici notarii publici et testium proxime subscriptorum ad infra-scripta specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, constituti personaliter discreti viri magister Simon de Stanes et Simon Franceys civis civitatis Londonensis procuratores, ambassatores, commissarij, et nunciij speciales excellentissimi principis domini Edwardi dei gratia regis Anglie illustris ac conquestu tercij primo alloquebantur Deodricum de Belcellis tunc ballivum dicte ville de Bruges asserentes se venisse et paratos esse ex parte dicti domini regis Anglie ad tractandum, cognoscendum, procedendum, inquirendum, et decidendum secundum legem et bonam fidem de omnibus et singulis transgressionibus, dampnis, iniuriis, roberijs, et aliis maleficiis quibuscumque tam per terram quam per mare ex parte mercatorum regni Anglie quam terre Flandrie hinc et inde perpetratis ita bene et plene pro termino precedenti tempus quo dominus rex Anglie fecit homagium suum Ambiano domino regi Francie illustri quam etiam pro tempore subsequenti cum commissariis nobilis viri domini Ludowici comitis Flandrie ac burgimagistrorum, scabinorum, et consulum trium villarum de Bruges, Gaunt, et de Ipre, si qui essent deputati prout inter dictum comitem de unanimi consensu burgimagistrorum, scabinorum, et consulum predictorum ac burgimagistros, scabinos, et consules predictos ex parte una et dictum magistrum Simonem de Stanes ac Willelmum Fox civem civitatis Eboracensis procuratores, nuncios, ambassatores, et commissarios dicti domini regis Anglie speciales ad hoc potestatem ut dicebatur sufficientem habentes ex parte altera nuper in parlamento apud Audenarde consensum extiterat ac etiam concordatum. Unde dictus comes per suas literas clausas predictum dominum regem reddidit certiozem. Et quesiverunt dicti magister Simon et Simon dicti domini regis Anglie illustris ambassatores, procuratores, commissarij, et nunciij ut premitteret speciales a dicto ballivo ubi dictum comitem possent invenire vel commissarios ab eo pro se et tribus villis predictis secundum formam dicte concordie deputatos si qui essent protestantes quod non stetit nec staret per dictum dominum regem Anglie illustrem nec per ipsos commissarios suos quominus procederetur et fieret de omnibus et singulis transgressionibus, dampnis, iniuriis, roberijs, et aliis maleficiis predictis prout apud Audenarde alias ut premitteret exitit concordatum. Et idcirco ipsi nunciij, ambassatores, et commissarij diem Assumpcionis beate virginis Marie terminum in dicto parlamento in dicto negocio assignatum prevenerunt. Dictus vero ballivus ipsis commissariis statim respondit dicens se nullam commissionem habere a dicto domino comite in ipso negotio nec scire de aliquibus commissariis ab ipso comite ad hoc specialiter deputatis et quod dominus comes infra tercium diem tunc sequentem inveniretur apud Gaunt. Presentibus Adam Dampont, Johanne Oskyn, Rogero de Swanton', Johanne de Refham de London' necnon Johanne de Berford, Lincolnensis, et Johanne de Brumfeld, Eboracensis diocesium, clericis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis. Item dicto quartodecimo die mensis Augusti supradicti anno domini indictione, et pontificatu supradictis magister Simon de Stanes et Simon Franceys nunciij prenominati in presencia mei Henrici notarii publici infrascripti et testium predictorum ad domum Willelmi de la Stuve, principalis burgimagistri dicte ville de Bruges personaliter accesserunt et eidem Willelmo in ipsa domo personaliter invento literas dicti domini regis Anglie illustris clausas sigillo suo *le targe* nuncupato burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus ipsius ville de Bruges directas exhibuerunt requerentes ipsum Willelmum burgimagistrum quod comburgimagistrum suum,

scabinos, et consules eiusdem ville de Bruges faceret convocari et ipsas literas aperiri et legi publice coram ipsis in loco ubi communiter consueverunt congregari et quod celerius quo fieri posset ipsi nuncij expedirentur. Et statim postea dictus Willelmus de la Stuve respondit moris seu consuetudinis ville de Bruges non esse post prandium burgimagentros, scabinos, et consules predictos convocare, et restituit literas ipsas dicto magistro Simoni asserens se comburgimagentrum suum, scabinos, et consules predictos die crastino, videlicet die lune in festo Assumptionis beate Marie virginis predicto, hora prima velle convocare ita quod tunc dicti nuncij porrigerent literas ipsas regias palam in congregacione ipsa. Et immediate postea dictus magister Simon porrexerat et tradidit dicto Willelmo de la Stuve in domo sua predicta literas clausas venerabilis patris domini Johannis dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopi tocius Anglie primatis dicti domini regis Anglie cancellarij ipsi Willelmo directas et ipsum singulariter tangentes occasione arrestacionis quorundam bonorum suorum nuper ut dicitur facte apud Hertelpol et alibi in regno Anglie quas idem Willelmus recepit asserens se ipsas velle videre et usque in diem crastinum hora predicta super eisdem deliberare presentibus supradictis.

Quo die videlicet die lune mensis Augusti predicti die quartodecimo anno, indictione, et pontificatu predictis in presencia mei Henrici notarij infrascripti et testium predictorum magister Simon de Stanes et Simon Fraunceys nuncij domini regis Anglie predicti ad locum commune ville de Bruges predictae *le bourgh'* nuncupatum ubi burgimagentri, scabini, et consules eiusdem ville communiter consueverunt convenire personaliter accesserunt et dicto Willelmo de la Stuve et Egidio de Astrik<sup>1</sup> burgimagentris necnon scabinis et consulibus ipsius ville de Bruges hora dicte diei inibi congregatis predictas literas regias clausas ut pretangitur consignatas ipsis . . .<sup>1</sup> porrexerunt et tradiderunt quibus per dictum Willelmum de la Stuve vice sua ac comburgimagentri sui, scabinorum, et consulum predictorum receptis, dicti burgimagentri, scabini, et consules dixerunt dictis nunciis et venientibus cum eisdem quod irent in quamdam cameram seorsum asserentes se velle dictas literas postmodum aperire et videre et audire contenta in ipsis et deliberare super eisdem. Qui quidem nuncij ingrediebantur cameram a dicto loco cummuni separatam. Et ex intervallo magno postea dicti nuncij vocati ad dictos burgimagentros, scabinos, et consules ut predicatur congregatos redierunt. Prefatusque Willelmus de la Stuve ut predicatur burgimagentri vice comburgimagentri sui, scabinorum, et consulum predictorum et sua asseruit ipsos vidisse et intellexisse contenta in literis domini regis predictis et quesivit ab ipsis nuncijs an aliquid eis dicere vellent vel exhibere. Et statim postea dictus magister Simon allegavit dicens: domini reverendi, vos bene scitis quod alias in quadragesima ultimo preterita in plenis parliamentis apud istam villam de Bruges, villam de Gaunt', et apud Audenarde inter nobilem virum dominum Lodowycum comitem Flandrie pro se, mercatoribus, habitatoribus, et gentibus suis trium villarum de Bruges, Gaunt', et de Ipre ex parte una, ac me Simonem de Stanes et Willelmum Fox civem civitatis Eboracensis tunc nuncios, ambassatores, et commissarios ac procuratores speciales domini nostri regis Anglie illustris qui tunc et nunc fuit et est potestatem sufficientem in hac parte habentes, ex altera, super forma consensus et concordie primitus inter dictum dominum comitem pro se, mercatoribus, habitatoribus, et gentibus suis predictis ac etiam magistrum Johannem de Hildesleye baronem scaccarij dicti domini nostri regis Anglie ac Willelmum de la Pole, procuratores, nuncios, et commissarios ipsius domini regis Anglie alios deputatos habitorum prout in literis per modum indenture inde confectis plenius poterit apparere, multe, longe, et morose habebantur altercaciones et discussiones finaliter tamen postea in eadem quadragesima sextodecimo die mensis Marcij anno domini millesimo ccc<sup>mo</sup> trecesimo tercio pro bono pacis quietis et concordie inter dictum dominum nostrum regem et dominum comitem Flandrie predictos necnon regnum Anglie, terram Flandrie, mercatores quoscumque, habitatores, et gentes eorundem ita convenit inter dictum dominum comitem Flandrie de unanimi consilio et consensu burgimagentrorum, scabinorum,

<sup>1</sup> Illegible.

et consulum trium villarum de Bruges, Gaunt', et de Ipre predictarum ex parte una, et me, Simonem de Stanes, [et] Willelmum Fox civem civitatis Eboracensis procuratores, ambassatores, nuncios, et commissarios domini nostri regis Anglie illustris predicti speciales ad infrascripta potestatem sufficientem optinentes ex parte altera, quod non obstante tractatu habito per magistrum Johannem de Hyldesleye et Willelmum de la Pole predictos sub quacumque forma habito ceteris causis et legitimis pro loco et tempore si necesse fuerit declarandis ad maiorem honorem dei et utilitatem rei publice consensum extitit hinc inde et eciam simpliciter concordatum quod de omnibus et singulis transgressionibus, dampnis, iniuriis, roberiiis, et aliis maleficiis quibuscumque tam per terram quam per mare ex parte mercatorum regni Anglie quam terre Flandrie hinc et inde perpetratis, ita bene pro termino precedenti tempus quo dominus noster rex Anglie illustris fecit hogium suum Ambiano domino regi Francie illustri quam etiam pro tempore subsequenti procuratores, ambassatores, nuncij, et commissarij venerabilium dominorum domini regis Anglie et comitis Flandrie predictorum deputati seu in eventum deputandi tractarent, cognoscerent, procederent, inquirerent, et deciderent secundum legem, consuetudinem, ac bonam fidem que inter mercatores regni Anglie et terre Flandrie debet legitime observari. Et quia tunc mercatoribus, habitatoribus, subditis, et gentibus Flandrie non vacabat intendere tractatu supradicto immo notorie erant impediti per guerram inter terram Flandrie et ducatum Brabancie ita quod tunc providere non valebant in negotio memorato consensum extitit expresse eciam et concordatum inter dictum dominum comitem pro se, mercatoribus, habitatoribus, subditis, et gentibus Flandrie ex parte una ac me, Simonem de Stanes, et Willelmum Fox, procuratores, ambassatores, [nunc]ios, et commissarios dicti domini regis Anglie prenomatos pro mercatoribus, habitatoribus, subditis, et gentibus regni Anglie ex altera [quod omnes] et singuli mercatores, habitatores, subditi, et gentes regni Anglie et terre Flandrie a dicto sextodecimo die mensis Marcij [us]que ad presens festum Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis inclusive, libere, pacifice, et secure cum mercimoniis, bonis, et rebus suis quibuscumque ad regnum Anglie et terram Flandrie et per totam potestatem et dominia dominorum regis Anglie illustris et comitis Flandrie predictorum mutua vicissitudine ire . . . . . [et pacifice] morari valent pro mercimoniis suis hinc et inde faciendis et aliis negociis suis quibuscumque licitis . . . . . [exercend]is absque quacumque arrestacione, molestacione, perturbacione, seu impedimento aliquali in personis, merci[moniis] . . . . . quomodolibet inferenda durante termino memorato. Et quod si contingeret quod d[ominus] noster rex Anglie . . . . . processum et discussionem maturare vellet in negociis m[emoratis] . . . . . regis Anglie illustris et c[omitis] Flandrie . . . . . Anglie placuerit in . . . . . [ut sup]erius est expressum. Et . . . . . comes Flandrie per literas suas clausas [domino nostro regi directas] omnibus et singulis . . . . . quas eidem regi apud Sanctum Iuonem<sup>2</sup> . . . . . postea in thesauraria sua iussit fecit salvo custodiri . . . . . [burgi] magistris, scabinis, et consulibus<sup>3</sup> ville de Bruges antedictae quod dictus dominus rex Anglie volens et affectans pacem et tranquillitatem regni Anglie et terre Flandrie propter specialem affectionem et intimam dilectionem quas gerit erga dictum dominum comitem carissimum consanguineum suum ante terminum ut premittitur statutum ipsum magistrum Simonem et Simonem Fraunceys socium suum ibidem presentes miserat commissarios, procuratores, et nuncios suos speciales ad tractandum cum ipso comite ac burgimagistris, scabinis, consulibus, et aliis hominibus villarum de Bruges, de Gaunt', et de Ipre, seu cum illis quos ijdem comes, burgimagistri, scabini, consules, et alij de villis predictis loco suo deputaverint super diversis negociis ipsum dominum regem, mercatores, gentes, et habitatores regni sui predicti ex parte una et mercatores, gentes, et habitatores terre Flandrie ex altera contingentibus seu concernentibus. Et asserens<sup>4</sup> se et concommissarium suum predictum paratos esse ad tractandum cum dicto domino comite

<sup>1</sup> At this point a large part of the text has faded and has been lost.      <sup>2</sup> The modern Perth.      <sup>3</sup> Membrane 2.      <sup>4</sup> The original has *osserens*.

seu commissariis suis si quos pro se et tribus villis predictis et subditis suis terre Flandrie deputaverit secundum formam consensus et ordinationum apud Audenarde ut pretangitur initarum<sup>1</sup> prout in literis dicti domini comitis preactis dicto domino regi Anglie inde transmissis et traditis et penes eum in thesauraria sua remanentibus ut dictus magister Simon asseruit plenius continetur. Quibus itaque peractis dictus Willelmus de la Stuve ut predictur burgimager principalis dicte ville de Bruges vice sua et dicti comburgimagistri sui ac scabinorum et consulum eiusdem ville asseruit se velle adinvicem deliberare super dictis et expositis ibidem per ipsum magistrum Simonem et concommisarium suum. Et ad dictum predicti Willelmi ipsi commissarij et venientes cum ipsis ad partem secedebant. Cumque post magnam moram requisiti, redijissent ad burgimagistros, scabinos, et consules supradictos Willelmo de la Stuve [predictus ita] dixit: Dominus noster rex Anglie bene scribit nobis quod mittit apud burgimagistros, scabinos, et consules ville de Bruges quosdam nuncios suos nominatos et bene credimus quod vos sitis<sup>2</sup> nuncij sui et bene audivimus [quod(?)]<sup>3</sup> . . . . . ea que dixistis. Et quesivit a nunciis ipsis an haberent aliquod procuratorium vel mandatum a dicto [domino rege Anglie] ad tractandum super negociis preactis et quod si haberent illud exhiberent. Post altercationem [cum(?)] . . . . . dicti nuncij exhibuerunt quoddam mandatum patens a dicto domino rege Anglie eisdem nunciis [concessum et] factum [et] magno sigillo dicti domini regis quod dicitur *tiparium* consignatum cuius tenor talis est:

'Edwardus dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitanie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. De fidelitate, circumspeccione, et industria dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum magistri Simonis de Stanes et Simonis Fraunceys civis civitatis nostri Londonensis plenam fiduciam reportantes ipsos deputamus, constituimus et facimus nostros procuratores, commissarios, et nuncios speciales, dantes eisdem plenam potestatem et mandatum speciale ad tractandum cum nobili viro domino Lodewyco comite Flandrie consanguineo nostro carissimo ac burgimagistris, scabinis, consulibus, et aliis hominibus villarum de Bruges, de Gandavo, et de Ipse seu cum illis quos ijdem comes, burgimagistri, scabini, consules, et alii de villis predictis loco suo deputaverint super negociis nos gentes et habitatores regni nostri ex parte una et gentes et habitatores terre Flandrie ex altera contingentibus seu concernentibus et [ad]<sup>4</sup> referendum nobis id quod actum fuerit in premissis, promittentes nos firmum et stabile habituros quicquid per dictos procuratores, commissarios, et nuncios nostros speciales actum fuerit in premissis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Wyndesore quinto die Augusti anno regni nostri octavo.'

Quo quidem mandato publice lecto ibidem dictus magister Simon de Stanes publice quesivit an essent ibi aliqui commissarij per partem dicti domini comitis et trium villarum predictarum secundum formam consensus et ordinationum ut predictur apud Audenarde initarum ad tractandum et faciendum prout inibi extitit conductum inter partes supradictas. Et quia nullus commissarius ibidem comparuit ex parte dicti comitis seu trium villarum predictarum procuratores, commissarij, et nuncij [domini nostri(?)] regis Anglie propter pericula que mercatoribus terre Anglie circa personas suas et mercimonia sua in terra Flandrie possent de [cetero(?)] imminere(?).<sup>5</sup> . . . . . pacis inter dictum dominum regem Anglie et comitem Flandrie eodem die Assumpcionis expirarent [poscebant(?)] . . . . . scabini et consules ibidem presentes quantum in eis esset treugas hinc prorogarent usque ad certum tempus [et] proclama[cio pacis] fieret in ipsa villa de Bruges usque ad idem tempus duratura ita quod interim mercatores Anglie illuc possent secure [et] semper morari et redire et mercandizare libere et de bonis suis pro sue libito voluntatis disponere sine aliqua arestacione seu impedimento quocumque. Dictus vero

<sup>1</sup> The original has *initis*.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *scitis*.

<sup>3</sup> At this point a large part of the text has faded and has been lost.

<sup>4</sup> *ad* supplied from the enrolled patent. See *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, 1334-1338*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> At this point a part of the text has faded and has been lost.



Willelmus de la Stuve burgimager vice predicta respondit dicens: mercatores Anglie in villa de Bruges conversantes, scitote, sunt ita securi infra eandem villam sicut nosmet ipsi et ipsos tuebimur ut fratres nostros dum in ea moram fecerint, extra forsan non poterimus tueri eos. Magister vero Simon de Stanes vice sua et comcommissarij sui palam dixit coram congregatis predictis: ponamus quod pro domino comite Flandrie et tribus villis predictis commissarij cum sufficienti potestate essent presentes ad tractandum, cognoscendum, procedendum, inquirendum, pronunciandum, diffiniendum, et exequendum querelas omnes gencium et habitatorum regni Anglie et terre Flandrie una nobiscum ante omnia requireretur de jure quod treuge prorogarentur et proclamacio pacis fieret per totam Flandriam ad certum tempus ut interim mercatores Anglie in ipsa terra conversantes securi essent in personis et rebus ac mercimoniis eorum. Et nos similiter cum commissariis dicti comitis et trium villarum tute procedere valeremus alias frustra laboraremus. Tandem dictus Willelmus de la Stuve pro se et ceteris omnibus ville de Bruges in dicto loco communi congregatis respondit et dixit: nos non possumus treugas prorogare nec proclamationem pacis aliquam facere infra Bruges vel extra nisi de mandato domini nostri comitis speciali. Et optenta copia mandata patentis predicti dictis magistro Simoni de Stanes et Simoni Fraunceys a prefato domino rege Anglie facti ex parte dictorum burgimagistrorum, scabinorum, et consulum de Bruges quesitum extitit an ipsi procuratores, nuncij, et commissarij aliam a dicto domino rege haberent potestatem. Dictus magister Simon de Stanes vice sua et comcommissarij sui predicti dixit: videtur quod illud mandatum debeat sufficere ad presens nec oportuit nos illud vobis ostendisse quia nulli vestrum sunt commissarij a dicto domino comite et tribus villis predictis deputati ad procedendum in negociis supradictis nec vos sine dicto domino comite ac scabinis et consulibus villarum de Gaunt' et de Ipre pars dici poteritis quovismodo. Et mirabile videtur quod ex quo dominus noster rex Anglie multociens diversos nuncios, procuratores, et commissarios suos miserat apud dictum dominum comitem et tres villas predictas ad tractandum et procedendum in negociis predictis idemque dictus comes ac burgimagistri, scabini, et consules earundem villarum in quadragesima ultimo preterita promisissent se missuros nuncios, procuratores, et commissarios ad dominum regem Anglie et consilium suum citra festum pentecostes ultimo preteritum ad tractandum super negociis predictis, et nonnullos tamen misissent nec habentur aliqui ad presens ad tractandum de eisdem secundum formam consensus nuper habiti apud Audenarde, licet dictus dominus noster rex semper volens pacem et concordiam inter regnum suum et terram Flandrie exhabundanti nunc miserit nos cum sufficienti potestate, semper tamen ex parte comitis predicti et trium villarum predictarum negocia huiusmodi capiunt dilaciones. Ad quem ergo effectum exhiberemus uberius mandatum ex quo non apparent aliqui commissarij ex parte comitis predicti prout alias consensus extitit et ordinatum. Quibus dictis dicti burgimagistri, scabini, et consules ville de Bruges asseruerunt se<sup>1</sup>. . . . . veniret vel commissarios mitteret sufficientes pro se et tribus villis predictis et premunire scabinos et consules villarum de Gaunt' et de Ipre ad prestandum consensus suum citra tempus tamen infra quod non determinarunt. Preterea dictus Willelmus de la Stuve quo ad actionem suam singularem occasione bonorum suorum apud Hertepol et apud Jernemuthe nuper ut asseruit arestatorum pro quibus dixit se alias dedisse particulas magistro Simoni predicto in ultima quadragesima preterita apud Bruges domino regi Anglie illustri et suo consilio manifestandas ita quod bona predicta fuissent restituta pro quibus idem Willelmus magnam sectam in curia domini regis ac penes dictum dominum nostrum regem pro restitutione habenda bonorum predictorum pro longum tempus dixit se fecisse et non potuisse aliquem exitum optenuisse licet a curia dicti domini regis Anglie pro nongentis et quinquaginta libris sterlingorum apud Jernemuthe et Hertepol de certis personis recuperandis pro bonis suis arestatis predictis sententiam habuisset pro se diffinitivam et diversas execuciones super huiusmodi summa a dicta curia optinui[s]set, nullum tamen fructum ut asseruit inde reportavit quia illi contra quos fiebant execuciones non curarunt de brevibus domini regis. Cui quidem

<sup>1</sup> At this point a part of the text has faded and has been lost.

Willelmo de la Stuve dictus magister Simon de Stanes respondit dicens: hec est rei veritas quod quando ultimo recessi de Flandria in Angliam festinavi quantum potui ad dominum nostrum regem Anglie et apud Sanctum Juonem tradidi in manibus eiusdem domini regis particulas quas michi dedistis qui iussit quod in proxima congregatione consilii sui inde fieret iustitie complementum, et vos bene scitis et notorium est quod dominus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis domini nostri regis Anglie cancellarius maior de consilio suo fuerat tunc in partibus Francie nuncius apud dominum regem Francie missus per dictum dominum nostrum regem Anglie et ibidem morabatur per longum tempus et non rediit in Angliam nisi infra sex vel octo dies antequam socius meus nunc hic presens et ego fuimus deputati nuncij, procuratores, et commissarij ad veniendum infra tempus treugarum et ad locum et diem in ultimo parlamento apud Audenarde constitutum propter quod negocium vestrum capiebat dilacionem. Et scitote quod quamcito dictus dominus cancellarius intelligens ex relatu meo quod negocium vestrum non erat expeditum mirabatur multum credens quod sortitum fuisset effectum cum nulla apud eum fuisset facta prosecutione pro eodem et inde monebat totum consilium domini regis London' ante recessum nostrum nunc veniendo huc et in dicto consilio concordatum exitit quod in reditu nostro mitteretis saltim aliquem quantumcumque modicum de vestris ad informandum plene dictum dominum cancellarium et ceteros de consilio domini regis et tantum fieret quod merito debeatis contentari et credo quod dictus dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus per literas suas clausas quas heri vobis porrexi ex parte sua scripserat satis ydonee super expedicione negocij vestri facienda in brevi. Et non displiceat vobis, alio modo potest vobis responderi. Debetis enim<sup>1</sup> scire quod Hertepol est infra libertatem episcopi Dunelmensis qui est comes palacij habens sca[c]clarium suum et cuneum<sup>2</sup> proprium et sua brevja currunt infra ipsam libertatem et non brevja regia nisi in casu quo libertas ipsa contigerit capi in manu domini regis Anglie propter defectum exhibicionis iustitie. Unde dico quod procurator vester prosequens [relaxacionem] arestacionis et restitutionem bonorum vestrorum captorum infra libertatem ipsam debite non prosequatur debuerat enim post primum breve regis ad ballivum libertatis eiusdem porrectum si ipse illud exequi noluisset ad cancellariam domini nostri regis revertisse et probasse brevis huiusmodi porrexionem et ballivi voluntatem et tunc optinuisset aliud breve dicto ballivo quod non obstante libertate exhiberet parti iusticie complementum. Et si ballivus non fecisset execucionem debitam libertas ipsa caperetur in manu domini nostri regis et tunc idem dominus noster rex faceret parti iustitie complementum; et sic non prosequatur procurator vester debite nec modo etiam competenti. Unde inputandum est ei propter indebitam suam prosecutionem quod non habuistis ante hec tempora optatum vestrum et negocium finaliter expeditum. Similiter dico quod si burgenses de Jernemuta non curassent de prima execucione cancellarie dicti domini nostri regis Anglie et eidem se obtemperassent procurator vester debuisset rediisse ad ipsam cancellariam et prosecutus fuisse aggravacionem et sic prosequendo per aggravaciones sortem cum dampnis recuperasset. Scitis enim quod in qualibet curia de mundo quilibet potest amittere ius suum propter defectum prosecutionis. Dico etiam vobis quod si volueritis in recitu socij mei et mei in Angliam destinare unum de vestris ad consilium domini nostri regis ita eritis expediti quod merito debeatis contentari. Willelmus vero de la Stuve ponit quod mercatores Anglie apud [Bruges]<sup>3</sup> conversantes auxiliarentur ei de xl. vel xxx. li. vel de duobus denariis de quolibet sacco lane sterlingorum pro expensis faciendis circa prosecutionem negociorum eiusdem. Et magister Simon eidem respondit quod potestas socio suo et sibi a dicto domino rege Anglie concessa ad hoc non extendebat set libenter socius suus et ipse convocarent mercatores Anglie in ipsa villa tunc existentes et inquirent de voluntatibus eorum et burgimagistros, scabinos, et consules eiusdem ville in crastino certificarent de responsione mercatorum. Et finaliter ijdem burgimagistri, scabini, et consules assignarunt dictis nunciis domini regis Anglie diem martis proxime sequentem hora prima ad tractandum plenius super negotio dicti Willelmi memorato et ad dandum responsonem dictorum mercatorum presentibus testibus pre-nominatis. Et subsequenter eodem die post prandium prefati magistri Simon de Stanes

<sup>1</sup> Membrane 3.<sup>2</sup> The original has *cudeum*.<sup>3</sup> *Bruges* evidently must be supplied.

et Simon Fraunceys dicti domini regis Anglie procuratores, nuncij, et commissarij ut predicitur speciales premuniri fecerunt omnes mercatores regni Anglie in villa de Bruges tunc existentes quod die martis proxime tunc sequente in refectorio fratrum carmelitarum eiusdem ville mane post missam matutinalem coram ipsis commissariis convenirent deliberaturi cum eisdem super quibusdam per dictum Willelmum de la Stuve petitis quibus sine consilio et assensu ipsorum mercatorum minime ut dicebatur poterat responderi.

Quo die martis videlicet sextodecimo die dicti mensis Augusti mane post missam matutinalem eiusdem diei coram dictis commissariis in refectorio predicto ac in presencia mei Henrici notarij infrascripti testium subscriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum nonnulli mercatores diversarum parcium Anglie in villa de Bruges tunc moram trahentes convenerunt et exposita sibi causa congregationis eorum et petitionibus Willelmi de la Stuve predictis habitaque ad invicem d[is]ceptatione diutina super huiusmodi expositis et petitis responsum exiit pro eisdem omnibus et singulis quod nullus eorum unquam deliquer[at contra predictum] Willelmum nec in culpa erat aliquo[modo], unde restitucio bonorum ipsius arestatorum esset retardata, propterquod pro ex<sup>1</sup> . . . . . seu faciendis circa prosecutionem restitutionis horum bonorum non possent nec deberent de . . . . . dicto Willelmo solvendo seu eidem in aliquo subvenire auxiliari vel contributionem facere aliquod et . . . . . [Willelmus de la] Stuve tantum cum petebat contra transgressores et si ipsi mercatores sibi facerent . . . . . fieri possent presentibus Johanne de Refham de London, Johanne de Brumfeld', Eboracensis, et Johanne de [Berford, Lincolnensis] diocesium, testibus ad predicta rogatis. Quibus itaque peractis in continenti postea prefati commissarij a[d] . . . . . nominatum una cum me notario infra scripto et testibus proxime predictis personaliter accesserunt et burgimag[istris, scabinis, et consulibus dicte ville] de Bruges inibi personaliter congregatis retulerunt de verbo ad verbum responsum mercatorum predictorum . . . . . [Willelmus] de la Stuve prenotatus requisivit ipsos commissarios quod placeret eis manucapere negocij prosecutionem pro ip[s]is . . . . . [ind]ucere mercatores predictos eodem die post prandium quod ipsi ex tunc prosequerentur restitutionem bonorum ipsorum suis sumtibus . . . . . quod sex singulares persone dictorum mercatorum pro ipsis omnibus se obligarent ad faciendum fieri infra certum tempus huiusmodi restitutionem et ad refundendum dampna et expensas que et quas dictus Willelmus prius incurrerat et fecerat circa prosecutionem ipsius restitutionis. Et quod ipse sex persone non egrederentur castellaniam de Bruges donec tam de sorte quam de dampnis et expensis factis et faciendis circa prosecutionem dicti negocij plene et integre fuerit satisfactum. Magister vero Simon de Stanes vice concommisarij sui predicti et sua respondit dicens: videtur prima facie quod ista requisicio sit mirabilis valde, nam inconveniens nimis foret nobis commissariis prosequi negocia alienigene erga dominum nostrum ubi comodum sibi et regno suo non accresceret, cum ex tali prosecutione non tamen suspecti set proditores manifesti possemus merito reputari fatuum etiam esset nobis inducere innocentes ad onerandum se pro delictis predonum. Unum tamen faciemus. Iterum convocabimus mercatores isto die et exponemus eis requisitionem vestram in presencia vestra si volueritis et temptabimus quantum absque offensa domini nostri regis regni et iuris eiusdem poterimus voluntates eorum ita quod hora vesperarum erit vobis finaliter responsum quid de premissis duxerint faciendum. Requiritur etiam vos ex parte domini nostri regis Anglie quod faciatis mercatores predictos securitatem more consueto. Et statim postea dicti burgimagistri, scabini, et consules asseruerunt se misisse apud dominum suum comitem Flandrie quod veniret vel commissarios suos mitteret cum potestate sufficienti ad procedendum secundum formam consensus et concordie nuper habitorum in parlamento apud Audenarde et faciendum pro securitate more mercatorum quod iuri et consuetudini terre Flandrie conveniret et promiserunt quod dicti mercatores interim in potestate ville de Bruges sicut et ipsimet securi remanerent. Et si cuiquam ipsorum quicquam molestie inferri contingeret inde sine more dispendio competens prestaretur emenda et aliam securitatem facere non possent sine

<sup>1</sup> At this point some of the parchment has rotted and the text has been lost.

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<sup>1</sup> Membrane 3.<sup>2</sup> The original has *cudeum*.<sup>3</sup> *Bruges* evidently must be supplied.

et Simon Fraunceys dicti domini regis Anglie procuratores, nuncij, et commissarij ut predicatur speciales premuniri fecerunt omnes mercatores regni Anglie in villa de Bruges tunc existentes quod die martis proxime tunc sequente in refectorio fratrum carmelitarum eiusdem ville mane post missam matutinalem coram ipsis commissariis convenirent deliberaturi cum eisdem super quibusdam per dictum Willelmum de la Stuve petitis quibus sine consilio et assensu ipsorum mercatorum minime ut dicebatur poterat responderi.

Quo die martis videlicet sextodecimo die dicti mensis Augusti mane post missam matutinalem eiusdem diei coram dictis commissariis in refectorio predicto ac in presencia mei Henrici notarij infrascripti testium subscriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum nonnulli mercatores diversarum parcium Anglie in villa de Bruges tunc moram trahentes convenerunt et exposita sibi causa congregationis eorum et petitionibus Willelmi de la Stuve predictis habitaque ad invicem d[is]ceptatione diutina super huiusmodi expositis et petitis responsum exiit pro eisdem omnibus et singulis quod nullus eorum unquam deliquerat contra predictum Willelmum nec in culpa erat aliquo modo, unde restitucio bonorum ipsius arestatorum esset retardata, propterquod pro ex<sup>1</sup> . . . . . seu faciendis circa prosecutionem restitutionis horum bonorum non possent nec deberent de . . . . . dicto Willelmo solvendo seu eidem in aliquo subvenire auxiliari vel contributionem facere aliquid et . . . . . [Willelmus de la] Stuve tantum cum petebat contra transgressores et si ipsi mercatores sibi facerent . . . . . fieri possent presentibus Johanne de Refham de London, Johanne de Brumfeld<sup>1</sup>, Eboracensis, et Johanne de [Berford, Lincolnensis] diocesium, testibus ad predicta rogatis. Quibus itaque peractis in continenti postea prefati commissarij ad . . . . . nominatum una cum me notario infra scripto et testibus proxime predictis personaliter accesserunt et burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus dicte ville] de Bruges inibi personaliter congregatis retulerunt de verbo ad verbum responsonem mercatorum predictorum . . . . . [Willelmus] de la Stuve prenotatus requisivit ipsos commissarios quod placeret eis manucapere negocij prosecutionem pro ip[s]is . . . . . [ind]ucere mercatores predictos eodem die post prandium quod ipsi ex tunc prosequerentur restitutionem bonorum ipsorum suis sumtibus . . . . . quod sex singulares persone dictorum mercatorum pro ipsis omnibus se obligarent ad faciendum fieri infra certum tempus huiusmodi restitutionem et ad refundendum dampna et expensas que et quas dictus Willelmus prius incurrerat et fecerat circa prosecutionem ipsius restitutionis. Et quod ipse sex persone non egrederentur castellaniam de Bruges donec tam de sorte quam de dampnis et expensis factis et faciendis circa prosecutionem dicti negocij plene et integre fuerit satisfactum. Magister vero Simon de Stanes vice concommisarij sui predicti et sua respondit dicens: videtur prima facie quod ista requisicio sit mirabilis valde, nam inconveniens nimis foret nobis commissariis prosequi negocia alienigene erga dominum nostrum regem ubi comodum sibi et regno suo non accresceret, cum ex tali prosecutione non tamen suspecti set proditores manifesti possemus merito reputari fatuum etiam esset nobis inducere innocentes ad onerandum se pro delictis predonum. Unum tamen faciemus. Iterum convocabimus mercatores isto die et exponemus eis requisitionem vestram in presencia vestra si volueritis et temptabimus quantum absque offensa domini nostri regis regni et iuris eiusdem poterimus voluntates eorum ita quod hora vesperarum erit vobis finaliter responsum quid de premissis duxerint faciendum. Requiritur etiam vos ex parte domini nostri regis Anglie quod faciatis mercatores predictos securitatem more consueto. Et statim postea dicti burgimagistri, scabini, et consules asseruerunt se misisse apud dominum suum comitem Flandrie quod veniret vel commissarios suos mitteret cum potestate sufficienti ad procedendum secundum formam consensus et concordie nuper habitorum in parlamento apud Audenarde et faciendum pro securitate more mercatorum quod iuri et consuetudini terre Flandrie conveniret et promiserunt quod dicti mercatores interim in potestate ville de Bruges sicut et ipsimet securi remanerent. Et si cuiquam ipsorum quicquam molestie inferri contingeret inde sine more dispendio competens prestaretur emenda et aliam securitatem facere non possent sine

<sup>1</sup> At this point some of the parchment has rotted and the text has been lost.

speciali mandato dicti domini comitis Flandrie ut dicebant. Et hiis dictis magister Simon de Stanes palam asseruit ibidem concommissarium suum inibi presentem et se die mercurij proxime sequente cum diebus sequentibus querere velle predictum dominum comitem donec invenirent eum. Habebant enim a dicto domino rege Anglie literas clausas dicto domino comiti directas tradendas et liberandas ac a dicto loco *le burgh* nu[n]cupato recesserunt. Post prandium quidem dicte diei martis ipsi commissarij dictos mercatores in prefato refectorio coram se fecerunt conveniri. Et dictus magister Simon presente dicto Willelmo de la Stuve exposuit ipsis mercatoribus requisicionem dicti Willelmi prescriptam publice atque palam. Qui quidem mercatores statim elegerunt de se ipsis octo videlicet Adam Copindale de Beverlaco, Thomam de Upton', Willelmum de Grantham de London', Walterum Frost, Thomam de Duffeld', Willelmum de Hanamstede, Willelmum de Dentone, et Thomam de Sauerby ibidem presentes ad deliberandum super huius modi requisicione et ad respondendum eidem, promittentes mihi Henrico notario infrascripto se ratum habituros quicquid ipsi octo electi ducerent faciendum in ea parte et sub ypotheca omnium bonorum suorum exposuerunt cautiones. Subsequenter autem dicti octo electi habita invicem deliberacione diutina, tandem, communicato consilio commissariorum predictorum per magistrum Simonem predictum nomine ipsorum verba proferentem, respondebant requisicioni dicti Willelmi de la Stuve et similiter eidem Willelmo tribus racionibus, una videlicet quod prosequi non possent nec deberent restitutionem bonorum per dictum Willelmum de la Stuve petitorum pro eo quod ex tali prosecutione pars cum eodem Willelmo possent reputari et sic incurrerent indignacionem dicti domini regis Anglie et indigenas regni sui versus quos movetur questio offenderent ad quorum portus ipsi mercatores et mercimonia sua possent faciliter applicare; alia etiam racione quod nullus ipsorum se deberet aut vellet obligare dicto Willelmo quovismodo quia quicumque ipsorum se obligaret ad faciendum fieri restitutionem petitorum huiusmodi fateretur culpam ubi culpa non est et nemo se ipsum, ut asseruerunt, prodere tenetur quodque si restitucio bonorum non fieret infra certum tempus qui in nullo deliquerunt compellerentur satisfacere de transgressionibus aliorum et hoc videtur inconveniens iuri et<sup>1</sup> racioni cum culpa suos tenere debet auctores. Et tertia racione quod quicumque mercatorum se artaret ad remanendum infra castelaniam de Bruges donec dicto Willelmo tam de sorte quam dampnis et expensis foret satisfactum amitteret forsitan interim omnia bona et mercimonia sua in aliis partibus Flandrie et alibi. Et sic intollerabilia dampna provenirent obligatis et forsitan status subversio imineret propter que dicti mercatores noluerunt quicquam facere de petitis vel requisitis predictis. Promiserunt tamen velle scribere dominis et amicis suis in regno Anglie constitutis quod procurarent quatenus bono modo possent expeditionem dicti negocij. Dictus vero Willelmus de la Stuve de huiusmodi responsione se contentum finaliter reputavit. Presentibus testibus proxime supradictis.

Ac eisdem anno, indictione, et pontificatu, mensis Augusti predicti die xviii. hora prima magister Simon de Stanes et Simon Franceys procuratores, nuncij, et commissarij prenati apud Gaunt' in loco ubi scabini et consules eiusdem ville communiter congregari consueverunt personaliter constituti literas clausas dicti domini regis Anglie Petro de Pratis, ballivo, et nonnullis scabinis et consulibus dicte ville inibi congregatis in presencia mei Henrici notarij publici infrascripti et testium subscriptorum tradiderunt. Qulbus per dictum ballivum receptis apertis et publice lectis ibidem prefatus magister Simon vice conprocuratoris et concommissarii sui predicti et sua retulit ipsis compendiose omnia et singula que prius allegaverat et dixerat, optulerat, exhibuerat, quesiverat, petebantur, dixerat, posuerat, et fecerat apud Bruges coram burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus eiusdem ville de Bruges et responsiones eorundem. Et protestabantur ijdem commissarij se tempus statutum prevenisse apud Bruges ad faciendum et procedendum secundum ordinacionem prius factam apud Audenarde in parlamento ibidem in ultima quadragesima preterita habito et ad hoc fuisse paratos si promptos invenissent pro dicto domino comite et tribus villis de Bruges, Gaunt', et de Ipse predictis prout in dicto parlamento extiterat

<sup>1</sup> Membrane 4.

concordatum. Et quesivit dictus magister Simon a ballivo, scabinis, et consulibus ville de Gaunt' an burgimagistri, scabini, et consules de Bruges premun[er]ant ipsos post diem Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis tunc preteritum de adventu et factis ipsorum commissariorum dicti domini regis illustris. Ballivus de Gaunt' predictus respondit quod non. Petebant quidem ipsi commissarii a predicto ballivo quod ipse pro se scabinis et consulibus ville de Gaunt' pacem in suo districtu facerent proclamari, ita quod mercatores Anglie libere possent venire, morari, mercandizare, et redire sine molestia et impedimento apud eos ex quo notorie ipsis constitit quod dominus rex Anglie miserat commissarios suos et non stetit per eum quo minus procederetur in negotio predicto prout in dicto parlamento extiterat conductum. Ballivus vero predictus de Gaunt' respondit per villam eandem pacis huiusmodi proclamacionem fieri non posse infra villam ipsam vel eius castelianiam sine mandato dicti domini comitis speciali et se nescire ubi idem dominus comes certitudinaliter posset inveniri. Sperabatur tamen quod veniret illuc citra diem lune tunc proxime futurum et quod apud Audenarde scirent seu scire possent nova de ipso. Presentibus domino Portugalia clerico ville de Gaunt' ac Johanne de Berford' et Johanne de Bromfeld' predictis et aliis. Et postea eodem xviii. die dicti mensis Augusti prefati procuratores, nuncij, et commissarii dicti domini regis Anglie illustris apud Audenarde personaliter accesserunt hora vesperarum inquirentes ibidem ad castrum dicti comitis ubi ipse posset certitudinaliter inveniri, et responso accepto a custode castri ac filij et heredis, ut dicebatur, dicti comitis inibi commemorantis quod dictus dominus comes tunc erat Ambiano set quanto tempore moraretur ibidem vel quo abiret nulla dicebatur certitudo, dicti commissarii post cenam iter versus Ambianum arripuerunt. Presentibus Johanne de Refham, Johanne de Bromfeld,' et Johanne de Berford testibus supradictis.

Subsequenter vero postea mane xxj. die dicti mensis Augusti anno, indictione, et pontificatu predictis nuncij, procuratores, et commissarii Ambiano in ecclesia prioratus sancti Dionisii personaliter constituti literas clausas dicti domini regis Anglie illustris sigillo *la targe* nuncupato consignat nobili viro dicto domino Lodewico comiti Flandrie directas ipsi comiti in dicta ecclesia personaliter constituto in presencia mei notarii infrascripti et testium proxime predictorum palam porrexerunt et tradiderunt. Qui quidem comes ipsas benigne recepit asserens se ipsas velle videre post missam et habita deliberacione respondere eisdem. Interim vero ipsi procuratores et nuncij accesserunt ad comitem de Gelre et literas sibi a dicto domino rege Anglie illustri directas porrexerunt requirentes eundem ex parte ipsius domini regis quod erga dictum dominum comitem Flandrie instare vellet pro celeri expedicione negocij supradicti et retulit dictus magister Simonde Stanes prefato comiti de Gelre totum processum predictum compendiose. Et ex intervallo postea dicti procuratores et nuncij cum dicto comite de Gelre ad dictum prioratum redierunt et invenientes dictum dominum comitem Flandrie in ecclesia predicta prefatus magister Simon de Stanes retulit in presencia eorundem comitum totum processum subductionis indenture nuper per magistrum Johannem de Hyldesle et Ricardum de la Pole dudum nuncios et commissarios dicti domini regis Anglie illustris ad partes Flandrie destinatos ac ordinacionum<sup>1</sup> nuper in parlamento apud Audenarde ut prefertur initarum et consensuum et conductorum omnium inter dictas partes in eodem parlamento habitorum et qualiter dictus dominus comes Flandrie literis suis clausis certificaverat prefatum dominum regem Anglie illustrem quod indenture predictae fuerant annullate et nulle reputate, exprimens in eisdem litteris consensus et ordinaciones parliamenti predicti de quibus plenior fit mencio supra. Retulit etiam quod ipsi commissarii prevenerant tempus conductum in eodem parlamento parati loco et termino statutis processisse secundum formam in dicto parlamento ordinatam. Quibus loco et termino nullum commissarium pro dicto domino comite Flandrie et tribus villis predictis invenerunt propter quod extra Flandriam venerunt querentes dictum dominum comitem ad requirendum eum de prorogacione treugarum et proclamacione pacis ad aliquod certum tempus infra quod mercatores Anglie possent secure venire, morari, mercandizare libere,

<sup>1</sup> The original has *ordinacionem*.

et redire sine arestatione et impedimento et ut interim fierent indenture patentes inter partes super forma in dicto parlamento concessa in qua dicebatur fuisse simpliciter concordatum quod de omnibus et singulis transgressionibus, dampnis, iniuriis, roberiiis, et aliis maleficiis quibuscumque tam per terram quam per mare ex parte mercatorum regni Anglie quam terre Flandrie hinc et inde perpetratis ita bene et plene pro tempore precedenti tempus quo dictus dominus rex Anglie illustris fecit homagium suum Ambiano domino regi Francie illustri quam etiam pro tempore subsequenti, dum tamen infra viginti annos a data<sup>18</sup> commissionis eorundem continue numerandos, procuratores, nuncios, et commissarii dictorum dominorum regis Anglie illustris et comitis Flandrie deputati seu deputandi tractarent, cognoscerent, procederent, inquirerent, et deciderent et diffinirent secundum legem, consuetudinem, et bonam fidem que inter mercatores regni Anglie et terre Flandrie debet legitime observari. Et omnia alia et singula retulit que in relatione prescripta apud Bruges coram burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus eiusdem ville per ipsum magistrum Simonem facta continentur et cetera omnia et singula gesta et facta ibidem tam per se et Simonem Fraunceys comprocuratorem suum quam etiam per burgimagistros, scabinos, et consules ville de Bruges supradictos. Quibus itaque peractis dictus dominus comes de Gelre requisivit dictum dominum comitem Flandrie quod huiusmodi negocia expediret. Dictus vero dominus comes Flandrie habita aliquali deliberatione cum consilio suo bene fatebatur indenturas inter ipsum dominum comitem pro se et subditis suis ac gentibus trium villarum de Bruges, Gant', et de Ipre ex parte una et magistrum Johannem de Hyldesle baronem de scaccario dicti domini regis Anglie et Ricardum de la Pole nuper commissarium eiusdem domini regis ex altera alias confectas in dicto parlamento apud Audenarde subductas adnullatas fuisse et consensum fuisse de novo tunc ibidem quod non obstantibus huiusmodi indenturis tractaretur et procederetur secundum formam per dictum magistrum Simonem recitatam tam de roberiiis, transgressionibus, et aliis malis quibuscumque ante tempus homagij predicti quam post perpetratis prout superius est expressum et quod partes predictae commissarios ad tractandum, cognoscendum, procedendum, inquirendum, et decidendum super huiusmodi perpetratis hinc inde deputassent citra festum Assumpcionis beate Marie Virginis supradictum. Et asseruit dictus dominus comes Flandrie quod de predictis confessatis per eum certificaverat literis suis clausis dominum regum Anglie supradictum. Et requisivit dictus magister Simon ex parte dicti domini regis Anglie illustris quod super omnibus in quibus fuerat in dicto parlamento consensum et concordatum fierent indenture et consignarentur, ita quod posset apparere quibus modo et forma et a quo tempore commissariis hinc inde deputatis esset iurisdictio attributa et qualiter procedere deberent in negotio<sup>1</sup> memorato, ac quod domino nostro regi Anglie in nullo esset imputandum. Dictus vero dominus comes asseruit se velle usque in crastinum deliberare plenius quid esset faciendum nichilominus precep[er]it consiliariis suis quod interim super indenturis cum dicto magistro Simone convenirent. Ipse vero invicem conferentes super forma indenture per dictum magistrum Simonem concepte quibusdam adiectis et quibusdam subtractis substantia eiusdem nullatenus inmutata convenerunt ante prandium in eandem et postmodum dicti comitis consiliarij multociens variarunt et super indentura alique noluerant cum dicto magistro Simone concordare nisi starent indenture adnullate predictae. Dictus vero magister Simon et Simon concommisarius predictus protestabantur quod prius reverterentur sine responsione quam redirent ad indenturam ut predicatur adnullatam seu in eam quomolibet consentirent.

Ac eisdem anno, indictione, et pontificatu mensis Augusti predicti die xxij<sup>o</sup>. mane prefatus dominus comes Flandrie dictis nuncijs et procuratoribus domini regis Anglie illustris respondit dicens: nos misimus dominum Guidonem de Flandria avunculum nostrum apud Bruges statim audito de adventu nunciorum domini nostri regis Anglie illustris et ibi invenietis commissarios pro nobis et tribus villis de Bruges, Gant', et de Ipre ad faciendum quod oportebit in negotio. Cui quidem comiti dictus magister Simon ait: domine, vos

<sup>1</sup> Membrane 5.



debetis scire quod hodie est nonus dies a tempore quo socius meus et ego nuncij, procuratores, et commissarij domini nostri regis Anglie illustris venimus apud Bruges. Prevenimus terminum statutum credentes firmiter invenisse commissarios vestros promptos ad tractandum, ordinandum, procedendum, et faciendum in eadem villa secundum formam consensus et concordie nuper in parlamento apud Audenarde inter partes initorum. Nullos tamen invenimus. Preterea quia non invenimus vos in Flandrie licet in diversis et pluribus locis diligenter vos quesiverimus propter quod nimis sumus fatigati querendo vos ita longe extra locum statutum. Et bene scitis quod quindecim dies vel amplius labebuntur de tempore quo tractari debuisset antequam poterimus reverti apud Bruges. Equi enim nostri sunt fessi et quidam perditii preterea indenture secundum quas procedi deberet nondum conceduntur, et ibi oporteret incipere. Et licet conceperim notam indenture super forma concordie in dicto parlamento habite, consilium vestrum aliquociens convenerunt in eam et aliquociens dissentiebant, et precipue magister Bernardus caput consilij vestri qui absens fuerat tempore concordie huiusmodi tociens variat nunc concedendo, nunc denegando, quod nulla constancia in ipso potest reperiri. Et bene scitis quod sine indentura nichil potest fieri in negotio memorato. Et ponamus quod indenture fierent et consignarentur; tunc oporteret necessario ante omnia quod treuge prorogarentur et pacis fieret proclamacio per totam Flandrie pro securitate mercatorum Anglie et hec requirerent unam dilacionem magnam. Preterea oporteret quod statueretur novus terminus ad tractandum et procedendum, alias processus discontinuaretur. Item oporteret quod in singulis portubus et bonis villis Flandrie ac eciam in regno Anglie fierent proclamaciones quod passi iniurias et roberias et alia mala premunirentur de termino noviter sic statuendo ut in eo possent proponere petitiones suas et diebus sequentibus prosequi easdem, et hec predicta fieri non possent citra tempus quo nos oportebit redire in Angliam ad Parlamentum domini nostri regis Anglie illustris prout ex parte eiusdem nobis est iniunctum. Dixit etiam dictus magister Simon dicto domino comiti Flandrie: domine, bene scitis qualiter dominus noster rex Anglie illustris semper scitiens et affectans pacem et dilectionem binis vicibus infra modicum tempus miserat apud vos nuncios, procuratores, et commissarios suos cum sufficientibus mandatis paratos ad tractandum et faciendum prout extiterat conductum, et quod per vos, domine comes, et consilium vestrum et trium villarum predictarum in quadagesima ultima preterita in parlamento vestro apud Audenarde extiterat consensum quod citra festum pentecostes ultimo preteritum misissetis in Angliam apud dominum nostrum regem Anglie illustrem commissarios vestros ad tractandum cum consilio dicti domini regis et ad excusandum vos et gentes vestras de impossibilitate vestra seu impedimento tractandi de negotio supradicto per guerram vestram cum duce Brabancie et alias occupationes vestras et gentiumstrarum trium villarum predictarum, et nullos misistis. Unde consilium dicti domini nostri regis Anglie illustris non modicum miratur. Et nichilominus dictus dominus noster rex Anglie illustris volens semper pacem et concordiam inter regnum suum Anglie et terram vestram Flandrie propter specialem affectionem et dilectionem quas intime gerit erga vos consanguineum suum, licet non miseritis apud eum prout extitit concordatum nunc misit nos licet modicos commissarios suos apud vos, domine comes, ad complendum conductum in predicto parlamento apud Audenarde nuper ut premittitur habito. Unde domine comes reverende ex quo consilium vestrum ex parte una et nos commissarii dicti domini nostri regis Anglie illustris ex altera non possumus convenire in aliquam formam indenture virtute cuius in negotio foret procedendum, nos dimittemus copiam note ex parte dicti domini nostri regis Anglie illustris concepte, et mittatur nota indenture de consilio vestro concepta dicto domino nostro regi, et deliberet consilium vestrum super nostra et consilium dicti domini nostri regis super vestra deliberabit usque ad certum tempus per vos si volueritis statuendum. Et interim prorogetis si placet treugas et faciatis pacem proclamari usque ad tempus quo volueritis ut interim possit conveniri in indenturam et commissarij utriusque partis tractare valeant et procedere in negociis supradictis. Cumque per prefatum magistrum Bernardum quereretur a dictis nunciis et procuratoribus dicti domini regis Anglie numquid habent aliam potestatem quam exhibuerant alias apud Bruges ijdem

procuratores et nuncij exhibuerunt publice aliam commissionem a prefato domino rege Anglie suo magno sigillo quod dicitur *typarium* patentem consignatam ipsis procuratoribus, nunciis, et commissariis concessam et factam cuius tenor talis est:

'Edwardus dei gratia rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, et dux Aquitanie omnibus ad quos presentes litere pervenerint, salutem. De fidelitate, circumspectione, et industria dilectorum et fidelium nostrorum magistri Simonis de Stanes et Simonis Fraunceys civis civitatis Londoniensis plenam fiduciam reportantes ipsos deputamus, constituimus, et facimus nostros procuratores commissarios, et nuncios speciales, dantes eisdem plenam potestatem et mandatum speciale ad tractandum cum nobili viro domino Lodewico comite Flandrie consanguineo nostro carissimo ac burgimagistris, scabinis, consulibus, et aliis hominibus villarum de Bruges, de Gandavo, et de Ipre, seu cum illis quos ijdem comes, burgimagistri, scabini, consules, et alij de villis predictis loco suo deputaverunt ac ad cognoscendum, procedendum, pronuntiandum, diffiniendum, et exequendum quere-las omnes super transgressionibus, dampnis, iniuriis, roberis, et aliis maleficiis quibus-cumque per gentes et habitatores regni nostri ex parte una et gentes et habitatores terre Flandrie ex altera hinc inde illatis et quomodolibet perpetratis, promittentes nos firmum et stabile habituros quicquid per dictos procuratores, commissarios, et nuncios nostros actum fuerit in promissis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Wyndesore quinto die Augusti anno regni nostri octavo.<sup>1</sup>

Qua quidem commissione per consiliarios dicti domini comitis Flandrie diutine inspecta et postmodum restituta prefatus magister Simon vice concommissarij sui et sua ex parte dicti domini regis Anglie illustris requisivit prefatum dominum comitem Flandrie quod faceret literas patentes de prorogacione treugarum et proclamacione pacis pro securitate mercatorum regni Anglie usque ad certum tempus infra quod mercatores predicti secure possent venire in Flandriam morari et mercandizare ibidem secure et sine molestia et libere redire, et quod similiter utraque pars posset deliberare super indenturis inter se faciendis, et quod postquam indenture forent confecte et hinc inde consignate, commissarij parcium possint in dictis negociis tractare, procedere, et facere quod incumbit. Tandem dictus dominus comes Flandrie asseruit se usque post dormicionem plenius velle super predictis deliberare et respondere hora vesperarum eiusdem xxij diei dicti mensis Augusti nunciis et procuratoribus domini regis Anglie supradictis. Postea vero hora vesperarum dicte diei ipsi nuncij et procuratores uno cum dicto domino comite de Gelre ac comite de Julers et me notario infrascripto et testibus predictis ad dictum dominum comitem Flandrie redierunt et invenientes eum in prioratu predicto petebant ab eodem comite Flandrie ad eorum primitus petita responderi. Dictus vero comes de Gelre humiliter requisivit dictum comitem Flandrie quatinus cum non staret per dominum regem Anglie quominus procederetur in negotio nec in indentura fuisset concordatum, quod prorogaret treugas et pacem pro mercatoribus Anglie in Flandria faceret proclamari usque ad certum tempus secundum formam requisicionis per predictum magistrum Simonem ut premittitur facte. Finaliter quoque prefatus dominus comes Flandrie ad instanciam dicti comitis de Gelre treugas concessit una vice usque ad festum sequens nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste et alia vice usque ad festum Pentecostes proxime nunc futurum et precepit magistro Willelmo de Daunsoun cancellario suo quod inde faceret literas patentes universis custodibus portuum, districtuum, et passagiorum tam per terram quam per mare Flandrie eidem comiti subiectis et huiusmodi literas dictis nunciis liberaret. Consequenter vero, xxj.<sup>2</sup> die dicti mensis Augusti hora prima eiusdem diei anno, indictione, et pontificatu predictis, prefatus magister Willelmus de Daunsoun dicti domini comitis Flandrie cancellarius nunciis predictis literas patentes dicti domini comitis suo sigillo magno consignatas tradidit formam que sequitur continentes:

'Nous Loys conte de Flandres, de Nevers, et de Rethel faisons savoir a toutz que nous

<sup>1</sup> For the enrolled patent, see *Calendar of the Patent Rolls . . . , Edward III, 1334-1338*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> The original has xxxij.

a toutes manieres de marchantz dengleterre venans, demourans, et repairans ens et de nostre countee de Flandres avecques leur meismes marchandises, et biens quelcunques por leur marchandises exerciter et faire en nostre dicte countee avons donne et donnons bon sauf segur et loial conduit selonc la teneur des privileges de nous et de nos predecessours donnes as marchanz dengleterre. Si volons et mandons a toutes manieres de gardes de portz, de destrois, et passaiges estans sous nous et autres nos subgies tant sour mer que seur terre ques as dis marchanz leur meismes et biens ne meffachent en corps ne en biens par ensi quil ne se meffachent durant cest nostre present conduit de la date de ces lettres jusques a la pentecouste prochainement venant. Et par tele condicion que samblable conduis de cest present soit donnes de treshaut et de tresexcellent prinche monsieur le roy dengleterre pour li et les siens as quelcunques marchantz de Flandres vuellans viseter et aler marchander en son royaume dengleterre. Par le tiesmoigne de ces lettres seellees de nostre seel. Fait et donne a Amiens le .xxiime. jour del mois d'aoust, l'an de grace .mil. ccc. trente quatre. Par monsieur le conte . . . present monsieur Philippe de Haueslike chivaler, monsieur Eude de Choys, et maistre Jehu<sup>1</sup> de Caedsant elers.'

Post que omnia predicta predicti nuncij requirebant dictum dominum comitem Flandrie quatenus literis suis clausis precipere dignaretur proclamacionem pacis fieri apud Bruges et alibi in terra Flandrie pro securitate dictorum mercatorum Anglie. Qui quidem dominus comes mandavit literis suis clausis quas vidi ego notarius infrascriptus ante earum consignacionem proclamacionem huiusmodi fieri per dominum Guidonem de Flandria ut predicatur avunculum suum tunc apud Bruges ut dicebatur existentem presentibus testibus proxime suprascriptis et aliis.

Eisdem vero anno indictione et pontificatu mensis Augusti supradicti die xxv. post horam nonam predicti nuncij domini regis Anglie illustris apud Ipre scabinis et consulibus ipsius ville in loco suo communi congregatis literas dicti domini regis clausas ipsis pro celeri expedicione dictorum nunciorum directas in presencia mei Henrici notarij publici et testium predictorum tradiderunt. Et retulit dictus magister Simon sub compendio ipsis scabinis et consulibus tempus adventus eorum et omnia que apud Bruges, Gaunt', Audenarde, et Ambianum facta erant in negocio antedicto et ostendit eis literas dicti comitis patentes de salvo conductu mercatorum predictorum et quesivit ab ipsis scabinis et consulibus de Ipre an burgimagistri, scabini, et consules de Bruges premunierant ipsos de Ipre de adventu ipsorum nuntiorum et quod venissent tractaturi cum eisdem. Responderunt quod tunc primo audiverunt de adventu ipsorum nunciorum. Et requisiverunt ipsi nuncij scabinos et consules ipsos de Ipre quod proclamarent pacem et conductum mercatorum regni Anglie quantum ad eos pertinuit. Ipsi tamen responderunt quod hoc facere non possent sine mandato dicti domini comitis inde specialiter sibi directo. Promiserunt tamen bona fide quod nullus ipsorum mercatorum molestaretur nec dampnum reciperet apud eos pro posse suo.

Item xxvi. die dicti mensis Augusti anno, indictione, et pontificatu predictis prefati nuncij dicti domini regis Anglie ad villam de Bruges accesserunt et ibidem predicto domino Guidoni de Flandria in mei Henrici notarij infrascripti et testium predictorum presencia literas dicti domini comitis Flandrie et proclamacionem pacis predictae clausas tradiderunt requirentes eum quod ipsas aperiret<sup>2</sup> et legeret ac pacem proclamaret prout continebatur in eisdem. Et statim idem dominus Guido ipsis literis apertis et per eum lectis petiit inspectionem literarum patentium de conductu a dicto domino comite concessarum. Quibus per eum diutine inspectis ipsas restituit et dictis nunciis dixit se velle convocare burgimagistros, scabinos, et consules trium villarum de Bruges, Gant', et de Ipre ad diem crastinum in manerio dicti domini comitis eiusdem ville de Bruges et tunc ipsis exponere mandatum dicti domini comitis. Et assignavit ipsis nuncijs eosdem diem et locum ad ostendum ibidem literas patentes predictas et ad recipiendum finaliter responcionem suam presentibus testibus supradictis.

<sup>1</sup> Membrane 6.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *appareret*.

Finaliter vero xxvij. die dicti mensis Augusti anno, indictione, et pontificatu predictis dicti domini nostri regis Anglie illustris nuncij prenotati ad manerium dicti domini comitis Flandrie in dicta villa de Bruges scituatum una cum me notario infrascripto et testibus predictis personaliter accesserunt congregatisque ibidem in camera principali eiusdem manerij burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus trium villarum predictarum coram dicto domino Guidone et habito tractatu diutino inter ipsos iusserunt et fecerunt dictos nuncios introduci ad eos, literasque patentes conductus predictas sibi petierunt exhiberi asserentes se velle deliberare super eisdem, et ipsis nunciis ad dictum prefati domini Guidonis ad partem secedentibus idem dictus Guido cum dictis burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus diutine deliberavit super patentibus literis supradictis. Et postea circiter horam meridianam dicti nuncij vocati ad<sup>1</sup> congregacionem ipsam redierunt et supervenit quidam monoculus cum suis complicibus ad impediendum, ut michi notario videbatur, proclamacionem pacis predictae ac etiam publice verbotenus proposuit quod alias pendentibus t[r]eugis inter partes predictas gentes de Jernemuta duas naves Flandrie arrestarunt et nautas earum bonis in eisdem existentibus ad valenciam duarum in librarum sterlingorum depredarunt et plures homines in dictis navibus existentes interfecerunt. Quibus auditis tam dictus dominus Guido quam burgimagistri, scabini, et consules predicti clamorem validum inde fecerunt. Cumque per nuncios dicti domini regis Anglie predictos peteretur quod depredati darent in scriptis eisdem nuncijs nomina depredatorum et depredancium et bona depredata specificarent ac tempus et ubi et nomina interfectorum si qui essent, predictus monoculus et sui complices aliquid inde predictis nunciis in scriptis dare non curantes variarunt a dicta proposicione et dixerunt dictas duas naves fuisse arrestatas apud Jernemutam per ballivos et homines ville illius, imponentes nautis navium illarum quod bona in navibus ipsis existencia fuerunt Willelmi de la Stuve de Bruges. Facta tamen postea fide quod dictus Willelmus nulla bona habuit in navibus predictis, naves et bona ipsa erant liberata set magistri earundem navium in vj. septimanis quibus prosequerentur liberacionem arestacionis predictae expendebant duodecim libras sterlingorum ut asseruit monoculus antedictus et finaliter querela sua ulterius se nullatenus extendebat nisi ad duodecim libras sterlingorum quas asseruit ut premittitur expendidisse. Quibus itaque peractis dominus Guido prenotatus ad alios actus se divertens dixit nuncijs supradictis se exposuisse omnibus ibidem congregatis literas patentes predictas domini comitis supradicti et quod ipsi bene intellexerant omnia contenta in eis et quod duo notabant de contentis in eisdem de quibus movebantur, unum videlicet quod dominus comes dederat bonum, salvum, securum, et fidele conductum secundum tenorem privilegiorum per ipsum comitem et suos predecessores mercatoribus Anglie donatorum, et aliud quod dictus dominus comes tali condicione literas de conductu huiusmodi dederat usque ad proximam pentecosten duraturas, quod similes litere de conductu per dictum dominum regem Anglie fierent pro ipso comite et suis mercatoribus Flandrie. Petebat etiam idem dominus Guido privilegia predicta per dictos nuncios exhiberi et quod si literas de conductu pro domino comite et mercatoribus Flandrie a domino rege Anglie haberent ipsas porrigerent alias dicebat fieri non debere proclamacionem pacis petite. Magister vero Simon de Stanes predictus ad primum motivum respondit dicens: Privilegia predicta burgimagistris, scabinis, et consulibus de Bruges sunt manifesta. Nam apud eos sunt registrata et similiter apud registrum dicti domini comitis Flandrie. Preterea frustra petuntur exhiberi cum de ipsis non agatur. Et si burgimagistri, scabini, et consules de Bruges ignoranciam de ipsis privilegijs vellent pretendere, non possent, quia notoria sunt et factum proprium est et in facto proprio intollerabilis est error ac nichilominus in villa de Bruges remanent sub potestate sua in domo Johannis le clerk del staple per eos sequestrata. Ad secundum autem motivum respondit dictus magister Simon et dixit quando dominus noster rex miserat concommisarium meum<sup>o</sup> et me nunc ultimo ad partes istas sperabatur quod commissarios ex parte dicti comitis et dictarum trium villarum promptos invenissemus prout alias extiterat compositum et eciam conductum in ista villa certo termino iam elapso

<sup>1</sup> The original has *quod* but the context demands *ad*.

ad tractandum, ordinandum, et pronunciandum finem et pacem faciendam nobiscum de perpetratis hinc inde roberiiis, transgressionibus, et aliis maleficiis quibuscumque prout plenius superius est expressum. Et quod dictus dominus noster rex non poterat divinare quod dictus dominus comes nollet pro se et dictis villis commissarios ad diem et locum constitutos deputasse. Credebat enim dictus dominus noster rex quod idem comes curasset et voluisset pacem et concordiam. Nosque non invenerimus commissarios huiusmodi licet terminum statutum prevenerimus ad locum constitutum et propter hoc per duos dies et amplius expectaverimus ibidem. Postea vero adivimus dictum dominum comitem ne processus discontinuaretur et protestati fuimus de fidelitate et benivolencia dicti domini nostri regis Anglie et diligencia nostra. Impetrantes ab eodem comite prorogacionem temporis de salvo conductu pro mercatoribus Anglie et a tempore date literarum patentium de conductu predicto per predictum dominum comitem concessarum non potuissemus ad dictum dominum nostrum regem in Angliam revertisse nec similes literas procurasse. Et petiit idem magister Simon quod dictus dominus Guido faceret fieri pacis proclamacionem in villa de Bruges prout factum fuerat in ultimo tractatu tempore quadagesimali promittens bona fide quod quamsicuius ipse magister Simon et concommisarius suus predicti reversi fuerint in Angliam pacem pro mercatoribus terre Flandrie facerent proclamari in villis Dovor et Sandewyci, et deinde festinarent ad dominum regem Anglie ad faciendum fieri per brevia eiusdem domini regis huiusmodi proclamacionem per omnes comitatus et portus regni sui Anglie predicti. Dictus vero dominus Guido respondit dicens: Faciatis venire literam dicti domini regis Anglie pro mercatoribus Flandrie similis tenoris literarum quas habetis de domino comite pro mercatoribus Anglie et statim proclamari faciemus pacem prout petivistis et non ante. Presentibus testibus supradictis.

Post hec omnia magister Simon de Stanes predictus Willelmo de la Stuve predicto in platea extra dictum manerium dixit: Mittatis quem volueritis mecum ad dominum nostrum regem Anglie et negocia vestra erunt expedita. Willelmus vero sibi respondit dicens dicam vobis veritatem et non celabo quicquam. Sicut alias vobis retuli, optinui sententiam diffinitivam pro me de nongentis et quinquaginta libris sterlingorum recuperandis a certis personis de Jernemuta et inde executiones nonnullas contra easdem personas. Et hec dem persone non valentes diffugere satisfactionem miserunt certos procuratores apud Bruges et composuerunt mecum pro trescentis libris quas ibidem soluerunt et liberavi ipsis summam predictam et fuit facta una indentura inter ipsos et me quod ego remis dictas nongentas et quinquaginta libras et actiones quas habui erga ipsas pro dictis trescentis libris michi solutis prout in parte indenture inde confecte apud ipsas remanente plenius continetur. Postea tamen eodem persone de Jernemuta absque aliqua alia causa nonnulla bona mea apud Jernemutam applicata arrestarunt et arestata detinent, imponentes michi quod contra voluntatem ipsarum cepi et capi feceram ab eis violenter dictas trescentas libras. Unde requiro quod fiat michi iusticia per dominum vestrum regem Anglie et quod compellantur huiusmodi indenturam exhibere, et si noluerint se racionabiliter obtemperare peto quod restituant michi sententiam diffinitivam predictam et partem indenture penes ipsas remanentis, de qua supra fit mencio, et restituam eis trescentas libras predictas ita quod contra ipsas salva sit michi actio competens recuperandi virtute dicte sentencie diffinitive nongentas et quinquaginta libras supradictas. Et magister Simon sibi respondit dicens: Si detexissetis apud consilium dicti domini nostri regis Anglie premissa, ante hec tempora fuissetis expediti.

## ORAL DELIVERY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY RUTH CROSBY

IN the Middle Ages the masses of the people read by means of the ear rather than the eye, by hearing others read or recite rather than by reading to themselves. It is the purpose of this article, first, to point out some evidences of the custom of oral delivery in the Middle Ages and, second, to analyze the peculiar characteristics of narratives intended for publication by that means, all with a view to considering in a later article the influence of such a custom on Geoffrey Chaucer.

### I

Just when the custom of reciting and chanting stories began it is impossible to determine. It is probably as old as humanity itself. Among the ancient Greeks, however, we find records of the practice of entertaining a group of listeners by chanting the deeds of famous heroes.<sup>1</sup> Even the Homeric poems themselves, it is believed, were chanted at the courts of kings and chieftains long before they were written down.<sup>2</sup> But it was not epics alone that were orally delivered. Various traditions have come down to us concerning the way in which Herodotus read his history aloud in Athens, in Corinth, in Thebes, and even before assembled Greece at the Olympic Games.<sup>3</sup> In fact, scholars are now generally agreed as to the importance of oral delivery of one kind or another among the ancient Greeks.<sup>4</sup>

That the custom was common also among the Romans there is much evidence to show. The quickest and surest way for a poet to bring his work before the public was to recite it to a group of friends. In the works of Horace, Martial, Juvenal, and Pliny, particularly, we find references to these recitations and to the feeling of the public towards them. That they were too numerous and at times

<sup>1</sup> In the first book of the *Odyssey* Phemius entertains the suitors of Penelope by singing of the return of the Greeks from Troy; and again in the eighth book, when Ulysses is at the court of Alcinoüs and Arete, Demodocus, to the accompaniment of his lyre, sings of the quarrel between Achilles and Ulysses, of the loves of Mars and Venus, and at the request of Ulysses, of the introduction of the wooden horse into Troy.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Capps, *From Homer to Theocritus: A Manual of Greek Literature* (New York, 1907), p. 12. and R. C. Jebb, *Homer, an Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey* (Boston, 1894), p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> See Eusebius, *Chronicon Bipartitum*, ed. Aucher (Venice, 1818), II, 213; Plutarch, *De Herodoti Malignitate in Omnia quae exstant Opera* (Paris, 1624), c. 26 and c. 31; Dio Chrysostom, *Orationes lxxx* (Paris: Morelli, 1623), xxxvii, 456; *Luciani Samosatensis Opera Graece et Latine* post T. Hemsterhusium et J. F. Reotzium, ed. J. T. Lehmann (Leipzig, 1823), IV, 120 ff.; *Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum*, ed. K. Müller (Paris, 1848), II, 360 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The practice of reading aloud among the ancients has been discussed by Josef Balogh in 'Voces Paginarum,' first published in *Philologus*, LXXXII (1927) Nos. 1 & 2, and reviewed by W. B. Sedgwick in *SPECULUM*, III (1928), 1. Balogh emphasizes the fact that oral reading was the rule rather than the exception, even in private, and says, 'Der Stil, den der Leser mit solcher Intensität nachempfand, forderte auch vom Schriftsteller ein anders geartetes Schaffen, als unser "stumm" lesendes Zeitalter es tut' (p. 95).

unpopular all the poets seem to agree.<sup>1</sup> A large formal recitation was an elaborate affair and meant hiring a hall, sending out invitations, and arranging benches for which, according to Juvenal, none of the patrons was willing to pay.<sup>2</sup> One must be careful too about the guests invited, or unforeseen difficulties might arise.<sup>3</sup> When an author of known reputation announced a reading, however, there was no need for invitations.<sup>4</sup>

But it was not always at a large public gathering that an author recited his work. Suetonius in his *Life of Virgil* tells how the *Georgics* were read aloud to Augustus.<sup>5</sup> And three books of the *Aeneid*, he says, the second, fourth, and sixth, were read before Augustus and Octavia in the same way.<sup>6</sup> Suetonius goes on to say of Virgil, 'Recitavit et pluribus, sed neque frequenter et ea fere de quibus ambigebat, quo magis iudicium hominum experiretur.'<sup>7</sup> Nettleship calls attention to the fact that Horace was more fastidious,<sup>8</sup> and gives the following passage as evidence,

nec recito cuivis nisi amicis, idque coactus,  
non ubiuis coramque quibuslibet.

In other passages also Horace shows that he prefers to recite his verses to a small and select audience of friends.<sup>9</sup> He values the criticism of an honest man like Quintilius above the flattering tribute of those for whom he has done some favor.<sup>10</sup> These and other passages we have noticed show that in spite of the growth of libraries, an established form of publication and a recognized method of entertainment in Rome as in ancient Greece was reading aloud.

If we pass from Greece and Rome to England, and from classic times to the early Middle Ages, we find further evidence of the custom of chanting tales to the accompaniment of some musical instrument, or of reading aloud by one person for the edification or entertainment of others. Everyone will recall the

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, ed. P. A. Nuttall (London, 1896) I, 1 and III, 6-9. See also Pliny, *Letters* (London, 1915), Bk. I, Let. XIII, in which he tells Sossius Senecio that in April not a day went by without recitations, at which the public behaved in a most unmannerly way. My attention was called to these passages by R. T. Bridge and E. D. C. Lake in *Select Epigrams of Martial* (Oxford, 1908), Introd., p. xix ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Satires* VII, 39 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Letters* Bk. VI, Let. XV.

<sup>4</sup> See Juvenal, *Satires*, VII, 82. A full discussion of public recitations from Greek times down to the 'penny readings' of Dickens and Thackeray is contained in a commentary on line nine of Juvenal's Third Satire

. . . et Augusto recitantes mense poetas

by John E. B. Mayor in his *Thirteen Satires of Juvenal with a Commentary* (fourth edition revised, London, 1886), I, 173-182. Mayor has nothing to say, however, of the recitations of the mediaeval minstrels.

<sup>5</sup> H. Nettleship, *Ancient Lives of Virgil with an Essay on the Poems of Virgil* (Oxford, 1879), p. 15, sec. 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16, secs. 31-32. G. H. Putnam calls attention to this reading in *Authors and their Public in Ancient Times* (New York and London, 1894) but gives no reference.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16, sec. 33.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16, n. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Epistles* I, 19, 35-45 in *The Complete Works of Horace*, ed. J. E. Yonge (London, 1867).

<sup>10</sup> *Ars Poetica* 419-444.

passage in *Beowulf*<sup>1</sup> in which the scop of Hrothgar entertains the banqueters after Beowulf's victory over Grendel by chanting the famous tale of the feud between Finn and Hengest. That the recitations of professional minstrels were common in eighth century England is found further in Alcuin's warning against them written to Hygebald, bishop of Lindisfarne, in 797.<sup>2</sup> Here Alcuin not only warns against the poems of the heathen, but advocates the reading aloud of the word of God and of the discourses of the fathers. It is evident, then, that reading aloud for instruction was customary, at least among the clergy, as well as reciting for entertainment. This practice is also shown in a letter written by Alcuin to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 793. In this letter Alcuin urges that the rule of St Benedict be read frequently in the assembly of the brethren and explained in their own tongue so that all may understand it.<sup>3</sup>

In Asser's *Life of Alfred* are two interesting passages which show how Alfred obtained his education even before he could read. As a boy he listened attentively to the recitations of Saxon poems which he heard so frequently that he easily memorized them.<sup>4</sup> Just what was the nature of these poems we are not told, nor by whom they were recited. Though in this passage Asser says that Alfred was illiterate until he was twelve years old, a later passage indicates that he was much older than that before he began to read to himself. His illiteracy, however, did not prevent him from becoming versed in the literature of his day. Asser speaks of the four eminent men whom Alfred called to his court: Werfrith, bishop of Worcester, and Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, with his two priests, Athelston and Werwulf, and goes on to say that Alfred spent much time in hearing them read aloud to him.<sup>5</sup> Even after Alfred could read to himself, he often called upon others to read to him.<sup>6</sup>

Since it was true that most people heard rather than read, it became customary for writers to address their works to the hearers as well as to the readers. So we find in Bede: 'Sive enim historia de bonis bona referat, ad imitandum bonum auditor sollicitus instigatur; seu mala commemoret de pravis, nihilominus religiosus ac pius auditor sive lector devitando quod noxium est ac perversum, ipse sollertius ad exsequenda ea quae bona ac Deo digna esse cognoverit, accenditur.'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1063 ff. See also 496 and 867 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, ed. P. Jaffe (Berlin, 1873), T. VI, *Monumenta Alcuiniana: Alcuini Epistolae*, 81, p. 357. Chadwick calls attention to this letter in *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Epistula 27 p. 198. The fact that the Benedictine Rule prescribes that while the brethren are eating there shall always be reading aloud by one brother appointed for the week (*Regula Sanctis Patris Benedicti*, ed. P. E. Schmidt (Ratisbon, 1892) Ch. XXXVIII) probably accounts for these recommendations of Alcuin and of other monastic writers. St Benedict also includes among other instruments of good works 'Lectioes sanctas libenter audire' (Ch. IV).

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Rerum Gestarum Alfredi Magni*, auctore Asserio Menevensi, ed. F. Wise (Oxford, 1722), p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> 'Nam haec est propria, & usitatissima illius consuetudo die noctuque inter omnia alia mentis & corporis impedimenta, aut per se ipsum libros recitare, aut aliis recitantibus audire,' p. 50.

<sup>7</sup> *Ecl. Hist.*, ed. Moberly (Oxford, 1881), p. 1. See also p. 2, 'Ut autem in his quae scripsi, vel caeteris auditoribus sive lectoribus' . . . etc. and p. 4, last paragraph.



Ælfric also makes similar references to the fact that some would read, some hear his work.<sup>1</sup>

Thus we see that in ancient Greece and Rome, and in England of the early Middle Ages the custom of oral delivery was well established. It now remains to trace the development of the custom through the later Middle Ages with the ultimate aim of discovering how it affected the work of Chaucer. The two methods, of reciting or chanting to the accompaniment of a musical instrument and of reading aloud, continued into the later period. It is with the reading aloud that we are chiefly concerned, but because of the influence he exerted upon the character of a mass of popular literature, we must first consider briefly the mediæval professional story-teller.

So much has already been written about the professional story-teller of the Middle Ages that I shall attempt only a brief sketch indicating his importance to popular literature. Whatever the origin of the mediæval minstrel, and various theories of his origin have been proposed,<sup>2</sup> he occupied much the same position in France and England of the Middle Ages as did the rhapsode among the Greeks, the scald of the Scandinavians, the scop or gleeman of the Anglo-Saxons, and the bard of the Welsh. His profession it was to present to an illiterate people the popular literature of their own or an earlier time. Both in France and England he was known most commonly as a *minstrel* or a *jongleur*, less often as a *trouvère*.<sup>3</sup>

By whatever name he was called, the professional story-teller was one of the most popular characters in the Middle Ages. Before all classes of people and upon

<sup>1</sup> See *Lives of the Saints*, ed. Skeat (EETS, LXXVI, 1881) p. 2 and p. 286, l. 62. Also *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Aelfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testaments, and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. S. J. Crawford (EETS, CLX, 1922), p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> On his origin see Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, ed. J. V. Prichard (New York, 19—) I, xvii ff.; George Ellis, *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances* (London, 1848), p. 9 ff.; Gaston Paris, *La Littérature Française au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1890), p. 20 ff.; Edmond Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1910), pp. 9–10; Leon Gautier, *Les Epôques Françaises* (Paris, 1892–94) II, 6.; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), I, 25; W. J. Courthope, *A History of English Poetry* (London, 1926), I, 60 and 432 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The names *jongleur* and *minstrel* seem to be used almost interchangeably for the professional story-teller (See Percy, *Reliques* I, xvii; Gervais de la Rue, *Essais Historiques sur les Bardes, les Jongleurs, et les Trouvères normands et anglo-normands* [Caen, 1834], I, 103; Joseph Ritson, *Ancient English Metrical Romances* [London, 1802], I, clviii; Emile Freymond, *Jongleurs und Menestrels* [Halle, 1883], p. 27; J. J. Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages* [trans. L. T. Smith, New York, 1925], p. 194), though *minstrel* is sometimes considered the more general term, covering all those who combine the arts of music and poetry (Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue e Poésie Francoise, Ryme et Romans* [Paris, 1581], Bk. I, Ch. VIII, p. 72, but see Faral p. 2). The distinction is sometimes made too between the *minstrel*, who was usually attached to the court of some prince or nobleman, and the *jongleur*, who moved about from place to place, reciting his tales to any audience he could collect (Gautier II, 51; Freymond 27–35; Faral 217–28). But their practice was the same. Though occasionally the name *trouvère* is applied to the actual reciter of the story (A. Ledieu, *Les Vilains dans les oeuvres des Trouvères* [Paris, 1890], p. 9), more often it is reserved for the inventor who composed romances and fabliaux to be recited by the *jongleur* or *minstrel* (Ledieu, p. 44; De la Rue, I, 106; Gautier, I, 45 ff.; J. Bedier, *Les Fabliaux* [Paris, 1839], p. 364; Faral, p. 79; G. Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* [New York, 1897], p. 50). The *trouvère* is thus regarded as the author, the *jongleur* or *minstrel* as the editor of a story.

all occasions of festivity he entertained with his inexhaustible supply of gestes, romances, lays, saints' lives, and miracles of the Virgin. The romances<sup>1</sup> are full of passages showing that minstrelsy, not music alone, but chanting or reciting of

<sup>1</sup> For the convenience of the reader I give here abbreviations and bibliography for French and English sources referred to more than once in the rest of the article:

- Aiol*, ed. J. Normand and G. Raynaud, Paris, 1877.  
*Amis*: *Amis and Amiloun*, ed. E. Kölbing, Heilbronn, 1884.  
*Arth.*: *Arthur*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS (II), 1864.  
*Arth. and Merl.*: *Arthur and Merlin*, ed. E. Kölbing, Leipzig, 1890.  
*Athel*: *Athelston*, ed. J. Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.*, XIII (1889), 331 ff.  
*Acuas*: *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. W. Suchier, Paderborn, 1921.  
*Bruce*: *Barbour, The Bruce*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS (Extra XI, LV), 1870, 1889.  
*Chron.*: *Anonymous Ryming Chronicle*, ed. Carroll and Tuve in *PMLA*, XLVI (1931), 115 ff.  
*Cursor Mundi*, ed. R. Morris, EETS (LVII, LIX, LXII, LXVIII, XCIX, CI), 1874-93.  
*Deschamps*, Eustache, *Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Sainte-Hilaire and G. Raynaud, Paris, 1878-1903.  
*Doon*: *Doon de Maience*, ed. M. F. Guessard, Paris, 1859.  
*Emare*, ed. E. Rickert, EETS (Extra XCIX), 1906.  
*Fierabras*, ed. M. F. Guessard, Paris, 1860.  
*Flamenca*: *Le Roman de Flamenca*, ed. P. Meyer, Paris, 1865.  
*Flor. and Blaun.*: *Floris and Blancheffleur*, ed. A. B. Taylor, Oxford, 1927.  
*Froissart*, Jean, *Méliador*, ed. A. Longnon, Paris, 1895-9.  
 ———, *Oeuvres: Poésies*, ed. A. Scheler, Brussels, 1870-2.  
*Gest*: *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy*, ed. G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson, EETS (XXXIX, LVI), 1869, 1874.  
*Gower*, John, *Complete Works*, ed. G. C. Macaulay Oxford, 1899-1902.  
*Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence*, *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, ed. E. Walberg, London, Paris, etc., 1922.  
*Gui*: *Gui de Bourgogne*, ed. M. F. Guessard, Paris, 1858.  
*Guillaume d'Orange*, ed. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1854.  
*Guy*: *Guy of Warwick*, ed. J. Zupitza, EETS (Extra XLII, XLIX, LIX), 1883, 1887, 1893.  
*Hav.*: *The Lay of Hauelok the Dane*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Revised by Sisam, Oxford, 1915.  
*Hugues*: *Hugues Capet*, ed. De La Grange, Paris, 1864.  
*Huon*: *Huon de Bordeaux*, ed. M. F. Guessard, Paris, 1860.  
*Kyng Alis.*: *Kyng Alisaunder*, in H. Weber's *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries*, Edinburgh, 1810.  
*La Mort Aym.*: *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. J. Couraye du Parc, Paris, 1884.  
*La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, ed. H. A. Todd, *PMLA*, IV (1889), 1 ff.  
*Le Bone Florence of Rome*, ed. W. Victor, Marburg, 1893.  
*Le Moniage Guillaume*, ed. W. Cloetta, Paris, 1906-11.  
*Le Morte Arthur*, ed. J. D. Bruce, EETS (Extra LXXXIX), 1903.  
*L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ed. P. Meyer, Paris, 1891.  
*Lib. Desc.*: *Libeaus Desconus*, ed. M. Kaluza (*Altenglische Bibliothek*, v), Leipzig, 1890.  
*Li Chevaliers as deus especs*, ed. W. Foerster, Halle, 1877.  
*Mannynge*, Robert, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS (CX, CXXIII), 1901-3.  
 ———, *Story of England*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Rolls Series (87), London, 1889.  
*Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. H. Kjellman, Paris, 1922.  
*Morte Arth.*: *Morte Arthure*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS (VIII), 1864.  
*Octavian*, ed. G. Sarrazin (*Altenglische Bibliothek*, III), Heilbronn, 1885.  
*Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed. I. Gollancz, London, 1915.  
*Pisan*: *Christine de Pisan, Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed. Maurice Roy, Paris, 1886-96.  
*Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. P. Meyer and A. Longnon, Paris, 1882.  
*Reinbrun*, *Gij sone of Warwike*, ed. J. Zupitza, EETS (Extra LIX), 1891.

stories as well, was the almost inevitable accompaniment of feasting, particularly in celebration of such a great event as a wedding or a coronation.<sup>1</sup> The professional minstrel was often employed also merely to help some king or nobleman while away his leisure hours.<sup>2</sup> Often, too, on journeys, whether on horse-back or shipboard, the song or recitation of the minstrel was heard.<sup>3</sup> Not only before the nobility but for the benefit of the common people in the streets the professional story-teller recited his tales and paused at interesting points to pass his hat for contributions.<sup>4</sup> Finally, though the church frowned upon the jongleur, especially in the days of his decline, she allowed him within her precincts when he confined himself to such literary pieces as chansons de geste, lives of the saints, and miracles of the Virgin.<sup>5</sup> From all the evidence that has been many times discussed, the popularity of the minstrel in the days when books and readers were few and when theaters offered no rival attractions, cannot be overestimated.

*Renart: Le Roman de Renart*, ed. E. Martin, Strasbourg, Paris, 1882-7.

*Richard: Richard Coeur de Lion*, ed. H. Weber in *op. cit.*, Edin., 1810.

*Roman de la Violette ou de Gerard de Nevers*, ed. Michel, Paris, 1834.

*Seege of Troye*, ed. C. H. A. Wager, New York, London, 1899.

*Seven Sages of Rome*, ed. Killis Campbell (*Albion Series of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English Poetry*), Boston, 1907.

*Sir Beues: Sir Beues of Hamtoun*, ed. E. Kölbing, EETS (Extra XLVI, XLVIII, LXVIII), 1885, 1886, 1894.

*Sir Deg.: Sir Degrevant*, ed. J. O. Halliwell in *Thornton Romances*, London, 1844.

*Sir Englam.: Sir Englamore of Artois*, ed. J. O. Halliwell in *op. cit.*, London, 1844.

*Sir Ferum.: Sir Ferumbras*, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS (Extra XXXIV), 1879.

*Sir Isum.: Sir Isumbras*, ed. J. O. Halliwell in *op. cit.*, London, 1844.

*Sir Laun.: Sir Launfal*, ed. French and Hale in *Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1930.

*Sir Orfeo*, ed. O. Zielke, Breslau, 1880.

*Sir Perc.: Sir Perceval of Galles*, ed. J. O. Halliwell in *op. cit.*, London, 1844.

*Tars: King of Tars*, ed. F. Krause, *Engl. Stud.* xi (1887-88), 1 ff.

*Titus and Vesp.: Titus and Vespasian*, ed. J. A. Herbert, Roxburghe Club, London, 1905.

*Wace, Roman de Rou*, ed. H. Andresen, Heilbronn, 1877-79.

*Wars of Alex.: Wars of Alexander*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS (Extra XLIV), 1886.

*Wm. of Pal.: William of Palerne*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS (Extra 1), 1867.

*Yw. and Gaw.: Ywain and Gawain*, ed. G. Schleich, Oppeln-Leipzig, 1887.

<sup>1</sup> A few passages are *Wars of Alex.*, 1-14; *Mannyng's Story of England*, 11389 ff.; *Chrétien de Troyes's Erec et Enid* (ed. Foerster, Halle, 1909), 2036 ff.; *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, 3226 ff.; *Confessio Amantis* VII, 2416 ff.; *Guy (Auch. a MS.)*, St. 16-17; *Flamenca*, 591 ff.; *Renart* 1, 2800 ff.; *Le Bone Florence*, 1009 ff.; *Piers Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat (EETS [LIV], 1873), c, viii, 97-98. See also *Gautier*, II, 150 ff.; *Jusserand*, 202 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As in *Sir Cleges*, ed. French and Hale (*Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1930), 481 ff. and *La Priee d'Orange* (in *Guillaume d'Orange*), 136 ff. See also J. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, 1801), p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> See *Lazamon's Brut* (ed. Sir F. Madden, London, 1847), 25539 ff.; *Raoul de Cambrai*, 6087 ff.; *Le Moniage Guillaume* (First Redaction), 434 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Gautier* II, 113 ff.; *Faral* p. 87 ff. and p. 119 ff.; and also Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1811), p. 69 for a picture of a late survival of the minstrel. This last passage has often been cited.

<sup>5</sup> See Thomas Warton, *The History of English Poetry* (London, 1774), I, 89 ff.; E. L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London, 1872), pp. 288 ff.; *Gautier* II, 24-26, 40-42, 156-160; *Faral* 25-60.

The debated question as to whether he chanted, recited, or read his stories concerns us little.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, it appears that all three methods of delivery were used. Certainly there is evidence to show that sometimes he sang to the accompaniment of an instrument, as did the Greek rhapsode and the Anglo-Saxon scop.<sup>2</sup> And in spite of Gautier's statement, 'Le jongleur ne lit pas, il ne dit pas, il chante' (II, 115), there is also evidence that he sometimes recited or said his story,<sup>3</sup> and apparently that at times he read it.<sup>4</sup>

What concerns us much more is that these stories spread abroad by the jongleur were intended to be heard, and this intention, as Saintsbury says, 'very closely concerns some of their most important literary characteristics.'<sup>5</sup> What these characteristics are we shall discover later.

Important as was the professional reciter in the life of the Middle Ages, he was not the only means through which people who could not read became acquainted with literature. The custom of reading aloud, as we have seen it in Anglo-Saxon England, continued, as did the custom of chanting to the accompaniment of the harp, until the invention of printing made possible the rapid multiplication of books, and the spread of education among the common people made it possible for more and more persons to read to themselves.

Two kinds of evidence contribute to our knowledge of the custom of reading aloud in the Middle Ages. Passages are common throughout mediaeval literature in which one person is pictured as reading aloud to others, and mediaeval writers indicate again and again that they intend their works to be heard.

Just as we have seen among the Greeks and Romans that it was the usual thing for an author to read aloud from his own works as a means of publication, so we find in the Middle Ages that the reader aloud was frequently an author whose purpose was to make his work known or to receive criticism upon it. Giraldus Cambrensis has left the following record of the way in which his *Topographia Hiberniae* was brought before the public:

<sup>1</sup> See Percy, I, xviii; De la Rue I, 103; Ledieu, 9; Gautier, II, 114-115.

<sup>2</sup> For example see *Flamenca*, 313 ff. and 591 ff.; *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, 3227-28; *Le Montiage Guillaume* (First Redaction), 436, 440; *La Prise d'Orange*, 138-139; *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. G. Servois (Paris, 1893), 4551 ff.; Gaimar, *Estoire des Engles*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1850), 6491 ff. and Wright's note on the passage.

<sup>3</sup> See *Les Deux Borneurs Ribautz* (in Montaiglon et Raynaud's *Recueil général et complet des Fabliaux etc.*, Paris, 1872-79), I, 11.; *Aucas*, sec. 39, l. 11 ff. (Here of course, Nicolette is imitating the methods of the minstrel); Mannyng's *Story of England*, 93 ff.; *Confessio Amantis* VII, 2424-25.

<sup>4</sup> Wace, *Roman de Rou*, 1-4; *Roman de la Violette*, 37 ff. The following passage from *Rhonabwy's Dream* in the *Mabinogion* (ed. Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887), seems to imply that the professional story-teller sometimes used a book, whether to read from continuously, or simply as a means of prodding his memory: 'Ar ystoria honn a elwir breidwyt ronabwy. A llyma yr achaws na wyr neb y vreidwyt na bard na chyfarwyd heb lyuyr, o achaws y geniuer lliw a oed ar y merch a hynny o amruael liw odidawc ac ar yr aruev ac eu kyweirdebeu' (And this story is called the dream of Rhonebwy. And this is the reason no one knows the dream, neither bard nor story-teller, without a book; because of so many colors that were on the horses, and the many splendid colors of the arms and of the accoutrements).

<sup>5</sup> *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* (New York, 1897), p. 40.

Processu vero temporis opere completo et correcto lucernam accensam non subponere, sed super candelabrum ut luceret erigere cupiens, apud Oxoniam, ubi clerus in Anglia magis vigebat et clericatu praecelebat, opus suum in tanta audientia recitare disposuit. Et quoniam tres erant in libro suo distinctiones, qualibet recitata die tribus diebus continuis recitatio duravit.<sup>1</sup>

Giraldus thus succeeds in surpassing the Greek and Roman recitations by having his last for three days.

More frequent in the Middle Ages than public recitations, however, seem to have been private readings to friends after the manner of Virgil's reading his *Georgics* to Augustus. In two passages that have often been noticed Froissart tells how he read aloud from his *Méliador* to the 'bon conte de Fois.'<sup>2</sup> His performance was evidently well received, for after he had finished the count said to him:

C'est un beaus mestiers,  
Beaus maistres, de faire tels choses.

Petrarch, instead of reading his own work, seems to have made a practice of criticising it and at the same time publishing it to his friends, by having someone read it aloud in his presence. Professor Root has called attention to two of Petrarch's letters to Boccaccio in which he refers to this practice.<sup>3</sup> Petrarch also recommends the custom to his friend, Francesco Bruni.<sup>4</sup> And in still another letter, addressed to King Robert of Sicily, he indicates that kings and noblemen may sometimes have been afflicted by being pressed to hear the compositions of poets or would-be poets.<sup>5</sup>

Sometimes an author might give his work to a friend to read aloud, in that way bringing it before the public. This is the situation expressed in Deschamps's *Balade* to Machaut concerning the latter's *Voir Dit*, which Deschamps had been

<sup>1</sup> *De Rebus a se Gestis* (Rolls Series, London, 1861), *Opera* 1, 72. Professor C. H. Haskins mentions this reading in a note on Thorndike's 'Public Readings of New Works in Mediaeval Universities,' (*SPECULUM* 1 [1926], 221). Professor Thorndike's note, in the same volume of *SPECULUM*, pp. 101-103, mentions other public readings in the Middle Ages by Buoncompagni da Signa at Bologna in 1215, at Padua in 1226, and again at Bologna in 1235; by Master Lawrence of Aquileia at Paris in the reign of Philip the Fair (1285-1314); and by Rolandinus of Padua at Padua in 1262. These readings he concludes were special occasions and not ordinary lecture courses.

<sup>2</sup> *Chroniques* (Brussels, 1867-77), xi, 85; *Le Dit dou Florin*, *Œuvres*, 1, 228.

<sup>3</sup> 'Publication before Printing,' *PMLA*, xxviii (1913), 421, 423. One of these letters is the famous one concerning Petrarch's translation into Latin of the *Griselda* story as he found it in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The other is one written to Boccaccio after a visit during which Boccaccio had read to Petrarch from the *Bucolicum Carmen*, apparently in order that Petrarch might revise copies which had been made from the original manuscript. After Boccaccio's departure, before the reading was finished, Petrarch secured the services of another friend for the same purpose. Of his slower and more hesitating reading Petrarch says: 'Udendo leggere il mio carne da costui, mi avvidi di tante cose, delle quali punto non m'era accorto quando tu mel leggesti.' Accordingly he altered certain phrases in all the manuscripts in his possession.

<sup>4</sup> *Lettere Senili* (volgarizzate da Guiseppe Fracassetti, Florence, 1869), Vol. 1, Bk. II, Let. iii, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Lettere Famigliari* (volgarizzate da Guiseppe Fracassetti, Florence, 1863), Vol. 1, Bk. IV, Let. iii, pp. 515-516.

directed to present to the Count of Flanders.<sup>1</sup> And Gower, in his dedication of his *Balades* to Henry IV seems to imply that they will be read aloud before the court:

O noble Henri, puissant et seignural,  
Si nous de vous joioms, c'est a b(on droit):  
Por desporter vo noble Court roia(l)  
Jeo frai balade, e s'il a vous plerro(it)  
Entre toutz autres joie m'en serroit.<sup>2</sup>

The reader aloud, however, was not always an author or a friend of an author whose main purpose in reading was the publication of a newly completed work. As we have seen that Alfred the Great listened to the reading of others before he could read to himself, so through the later Middle Ages we find references to the reading by one member of a household to the others for purposes of instruction. In the *Chronique de Guines et d'Ardre* by Lambert d'Ardre are two passages concerning Baldwin II which recall Asser's account of the way in which Alfred obtained his learning.<sup>3</sup> And just as we have seen that even after he could read himself, Alfred continued the custom of being read to on occasion, so we find passages in Giraldus Cambrensis and William of Malmesbury showing that that was a favorite practice of Archbishop Baldwin and Robert of Gloucester respectively.<sup>4</sup>

A further instance of reading for the purpose of instruction is to be found in the latter part of *The Ancren Riwele* where the author says: 'Ye ancren owen þis lutle laste stucchen reden to our wummun eueriche wike eues, uort þet heo hit kunnen.'<sup>5</sup> This reminds us of Alcuin's recommendations to the monks of Wearmouth and Jarrow.

But it was not always for purposes of instruction that people read aloud. As we, even in this age of moving pictures, radio, and a thousand other forms of entertainment, occasionally gather in groups to read aloud and listen to others read, so to a far greater extent the people of the Middle Ages listened to reading as one of their most popular forms of entertainment. The member of a family group who read aloud more often did so to entertain his listeners than to instruct them; and the most popular reading matter seems to have been found in the romances. At the coronation of Havelok, among other forms of entertainment, there is

Romanz-reding on þe bok,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, I, 249. Balade CXXVII, lines 17 ff. Root also refers to this passage in 'Publication Before Printing,' p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Works*, I, 337 Dedication to *Balades*, St. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Godefroy Maniglaize (Paris, 1855), p. 171, Ch. LXXX and p. 173, Ch. LXXXI. My attention was called to these significant passages by Professor Haskins in his *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Harvard University Press, 1927), p. 250.

<sup>4</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, *Opera* VI, in *Rolls Series*, p. 20. Also William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, *Rolls Series* 90 (II), p. 519.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Morton (London, 1853), p. 428.

<sup>6</sup> *Har.* 2327. Here the passage probably means 'reading from the French book,' but the French book was no doubt a romance.

and in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages* we find the following passage:

And than with damsels dere to daunsen in thaire chambris;  
Riche Romance to rede, and rekken the sothe  
Of kempes and of conquerours, of kynges full noble (249 ff.).

Though in these passages it is possible that the reading is done by a professional minstrel under such circumstances as those in which he was accustomed to perform, evidence is not lacking that the reading was often done by one member of a family before a small group of listeners. The reading of romances by private individuals was probably a later development than the reciting or reading of them by professional story-tellers. As manuscripts became more numerous and more of the laity learned to read, it is natural that the vogue for public recitation by the minstrel should give way somewhat before the private reading by one member of a family to others.

Several passages show that it was often upon a young girl that the task of reading fell,<sup>1</sup> Queen Guinevere herself being described on one occasion as reading aloud to a group of knights and maidens:

et si tenoit  
Un romant dont ele lisoit  
As chevaliers et as pucieles.<sup>2</sup>

Not only in family groups, but also between lovers was reading aloud a favorite pastime. In the *Confessio Amantis* when the lover is confessing to Genius his relations to his lady, he says:

And whanne it falleth othergate  
So that hire like nought to daunce  
Bot on the Dees to caste chaunce  
Or axe of love som demande,  
Or elles that her list comaunde  
To rede and here of Troilus  
Riht as sche wote or so or thus  
I am al redi to consente.<sup>3</sup>

Froissart in his *L'Espinette Amoureuse* describes how the lover comes upon a maiden reading the romance of *Cleomades*.<sup>4</sup> At his request she reads it aloud to him.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chrétien de Troyes, *Yvain*, ed. Foerster (Halle, 1912), 5360 ff.; *Li Chevaliers as deus espees*, 4255 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 4951 ff. Schultz calls attention to this passage in *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* (Leipzig, 1879), I, 439.

<sup>3</sup> iv, 2790 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Œuvres* I, 108, line 737 ff. This is one of the few instances I have found in the romances in which mention is made of anyone's reading to himself. Reading of psalms is occasionally mentioned, as in *Yvain* 1411-15, or implied, as in *Flor. and Blaun.* 1008. In the latter instance, however, though Clarice says Blancheffour prayed and read on her book all night, she is not telling the truth.

<sup>5</sup> See also Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*, 689 ff. in *Œuvres*, ed. E. Hoepfner (Paris, 1911), II, 26. Perhaps we should mention also the passage in which Francesca da Rimini tells how she and Paolo read 'di Lancilotto' (*Inferno*, v, 347 ff.) though there is nothing in the passage to indicate whether they were reading aloud or both from the same book.

An entirely different picture of reading aloud for entertainment is found in Barbour's *Bruce*. Here instead of the security of the bower we find the dangers of war. When King Robert was retreating before the Lord of Lorn, it took his men a night and a day to cross Loch Lomond, only three at a time being able to cross in a small boat, Barbour says:

The king, the quhilis, meryly,  
Red to thaim, that war him by,  
Romanys off worthi ferambrace.

. . . . .

The gud king, apon this maner,  
Comfortyt thaim that war him ner,  
And maid thaim gamyn and solace  
Till that his folk all passyt was.<sup>1</sup>

Certain passages show further that reading aloud combined the purposes of instruction and entertainment in the primary aim of instilling patriotism and honor of ancestors. In the opening lines of Wace's *Roman de Rou* the custom of reading at feasts about the deeds and sayings of ancestors is advocated. That de Joinville believed the reading aloud of his *Histoire de Saint Louis* would serve the same purpose is shown in the dedication to the king's son: ' . . . le vous envoi-je, pource que vous et vostre frère et li autre qui l'orront, y puissent penre bon exemple. . . . Et avant que je vous conte de ses grans faiz et de sa chevalerie, vous conterai-je ce que je vi et oy de ses saintes paroles . . . pour edefier ceuz qui les orront.'<sup>2</sup>

We have seen now that the reader aloud might be an author or the friend of an author whose main purpose was to publish some recently completed work, or one of a group whose purpose was either the instruction or entertainment of others.<sup>3</sup> But this examination of the circumstances under which people read aloud by no means exhausts the evidence that reading aloud was common. Mediaeval literature is filled with expressions which indicate the author's intention that his work shall be read aloud, shall be heard. In fact, so common are addresses to those who read or hear that the use of the two words in conjunction became a kind of formula, used extensively in France and Italy as well as in England.

<sup>1</sup> Bk. III, Line 435 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. M. Natalie de Wailly (Paris, 1868), p. 6. See also *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, 19201 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Two other groups of passages we may mention in passing. The first contains those in which a king hears something read, usually a letter by a clerk or some other member of his court. See *Sone de Nausay*, ed. M. Goldschmidt (Tübingen, 1899), 11532 ff.; *Lib. Desc.* 973 ff.; *Rouland and Vernagu*, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS (Extra XXIX), 1884, 77-78. These are probably early instances of the reading by a secretary of something the king was perhaps perfectly able to read to himself. The other group contains only two passages, in both of which reading aloud is the accompaniment of some sort of enchantment. See *Wm. of Pal.*, 4433 ff. and *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872) in the tale 'De transgressionibus anime et vulneribus ejus' (Cap. 102).



That the ear rather than the eye was most frequently appealed to in reading, the following lines from the *Confessio Amantis* indicate:

And ek in other wise also  
 Fulofte time it falleth so,  
 Min Ere with a good pitaunce  
 Is fedd of redinge of romaunce  
 Of Ydoine and of Amadas,  
 That whilom werein in mi cas,  
 And eke of other mony a score,  
 That loveden longe er I was bore.  
 For whan I of here loves rede,  
 Min Ere with the tale I fede.<sup>1</sup>

Many passages, particularly in French, are addressed to those who will hear the work read. Deschamps's *Chanson royal*, for instance, begins

A tous ceuls qui lire m'orront  
 Et en lisant profiteront  
 Salut et bonne affection.<sup>2</sup>

In English we have a good example in Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne*. When he has finished his tales connected with the third sacrament, that of the altar, Mannyng addresses

3e men þat are now yn present  
 þat haue herd me rede þys sacrament,  
 how ouer alle þyng hyt haþ powere,  
 þe sacrament of þe autere (10799 ff.).

Many more passages, as has been said, address both reader and hearer or indicate that the work will be both read and heard.<sup>3</sup> It would be possible to multiply examples almost indefinitely. We find the same formula used in prose as we have seen it in poetry. Mandeville's *Travels* ends with a prayer: 'to God of whom all grace cometh, that he will, all the readers and hearers that are cristen, fulfil with his grace.'<sup>4</sup> Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* is addressed at one moment to the hearer, at another to the reader, and sometimes to both.<sup>5</sup> By examining Petrarch's letters once more we find evidence of the extent to which the use of the combination of the words 'read and hear' had become practically a conventional formula. For instance, in a letter to the secretary of the

<sup>1</sup> vi, 875 ff. See also Bruce i, 1-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Œuvres*, viii, 108 ff. See also Robert de Blois's *L'Enseignement des Princes* ed. Ulrich (Berlin, 1895), 297 ff. and 455 ff.; Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie's *Le Besant de Dieu*, ed. E. Martin (Halle, 1864), 2043 ff.; Pisan's *Cent Balades C.*, 9 ff. (in *Œuvres*, i, 100) and *Le Dit de la Rose* 195 (in *Œuvres*, ii, 35); *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* 19169-74; Benoît, *Chroniques des Ducs de Normandie* (Paris, 1836-44), i, 2069 ff.; Froissart's *Méliador*, 7521.

<sup>3</sup> See *Cursor Mundi*, 21 ff.; Froissart's *La Prison Amoureuse*, 2248 ff.; Pisan's *Autres Balades*, xxi, 11 ff. (in *Œuvres*, i, 231) and *Le Dit de la Rose* 634 ff.; *Li Romans de Carite*, ed. Von Hamel (Paris, 1885), St. CCXLI; *Handlyng Synne*, 10073-74. <sup>4</sup> Ed. John Ashton (London, 1887), p. 220.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Thos. Wright (Camden Soc., 1850), i, xi (end); iii, ii (end); ii, xxxii, p. 106; iv, ii, p. 142; iii, i, p. 107; iii, iii, p. 124; iv, vi, p. 165.

Pope, in which Petrarch is speaking of Romana Curia, he says: 'Nelle sue lettere ne' familiari colloqui era tale schiettezza di parole e di modi, che leggendo o, ascoltando tu vedevi a nudo il cuor suo. . . .'<sup>1</sup> The conventional use of the words here, however, only goes to show more clearly that listening as well as reading was a recognized method of absorbing literature.

It is clear from the study we have just made<sup>2</sup> that in the Middle Ages the mass of the people obtained their knowledge of literature through hearing others read or recite rather than through reading to themselves. And it is equally clear, as we should expect, that writers of the period realized this condition and because of it addressed their hearers as well as their readers. This is most true of those who wrote in a popular fashion for the masses. The works of these writers, intended for oral delivery — for spreading abroad through the aid of the jongleur or minstrel, came to have certain striking characteristics which distinguish them sharply from popular writings of modern times. These characteristics it is now our purpose to consider.

## II

The chief characteristic of such literature, and in fact the surest evidence of the intention of oral delivery, is the use of direct address not to the reader, but to those listeners who are present at the recitation.<sup>3</sup> We have only to select at

<sup>1</sup> *Lettere Senili*, II, 460. See also *Lettere Famigliari*, III, 316.

<sup>2</sup> Of the innumerable references simply to those who hear we have said nothing. 'As you shall hear,' 'as you have heard,' and similar phrases are extremely common. See Geoffroi de Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), pp. 98 and 104; Boccaccio's *La Fiammetta (Opere Volgari)*, Florence, 1827-34), VI, 52, 57, 66. The French and English romances and chronicles, particularly, are full of such expressions. See for example *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, ed. de Reiffenberg, Brussels (1836-38), 48, 3048, 4726, etc.; *Aucas.*, sec. 12; Gower's *Miroir de l'Omme*, 7705; Benoit, *Le Roman de Troie*, ed. L. Constans, Paris (1904-12), 5703, 7000, 10554, 14434; *Handlyng Synne*, 3555, 5997, 11897; *Hav.*, 11, 732, 1641, 2984. And so on throughout the romances. We should not be convinced, however, that the simple use of the word *hear* necessarily indicates the intention of oral delivery in that particular work. Some allowance must be made for the conventional use of the word which we have suggested.

<sup>3</sup> We have seen that from very early times references were made to those who would read or hear. The earliest address in English to the reader seems to be in the *Cursor Mundi* (ca 1300), Col. 26502-3. Robert Mannyng's *Handlyng Synne* (1303), though written for 'lewde men' to hear, refers to a clerk who may read it in lines 10797-98. Mannyng probably realized that clerks would often read his treatise to 'lewde men.' See also the opening lines of *Chron.*

Here may men rede who so can

Hou Ingland first bigan.

It is in the fifteenth century that direct address to the reader as opposed to the hearer first becomes at all common in popular literature. Lydgate says in his *Troy Book* (EETS [Extra xcvi, ciii, cvi], 3906-10):

I have vndertake

So as I can this story for to make

Preyinge to alle þat schal it rede or se

[not rede or here]

Wheras I erre for to amenden me (I, 377 ff.).

The author of *Partenope of Blois*, ed. A. T. Bodtker, EETS (Extra cix, 1912) counsels those that are 'letteryd' to read and the 'lewed' to hear stories so that they may learn things they do not know (18 ff.).

random the opening lines of French and English romances and chronicles to see how universal a characteristic this is. Such a selection is now presented without further comment.

Signor, or escoutés . . .

Canchon de fiere estoire plairoit a oir?  
Laissiés le noise ester, si vos traïés vers mi.

*Aiol*

Seignour or faites pais, s'il vous plaist, escoutez.

*Fierabras*

Oiez, seignour baroun, . . .

*Gui de Bourgogne*

Signeur, or faites pais . . .

*Hugues Capet*

Seignour, soiés en pais, laissiés la noise ester,  
Sé vous volés chançon gloriose escouter.

*La Chanson d'Antioche* (ed. P. Paris, Paris, 1848)

Seignor, oëz qui chancon demandez,  
Soiez en pès et si m'oez conter  
D'une aventure onques ne fu sa per.

*La Mort Aym.*

Seigneurs, oi avez maint conte  
Que maint contere vous raconte.

*Renart* (Branch II)

Lystnes, lordyngs that ben hende.

*Athel. 7.*

Herkneth to me, gode men,  
Wiues, maydnes, and alle men.

*Hav.*

Lordingis that ar leff and dere,  
lystenyth and I shall you tell.

*Le Morte Arth.*

Herkneþ hiderward, lordinges,  
se þat wil here of kinges.

*Chron. 5-6<sup>1</sup>*

Such addresses to an audience occur as frequently within the body of a romance or chronicle as they do at the beginning.<sup>2</sup> This is especially true after there has apparently been a period of intermission and the reciter again calls the attention of his audience to the story he is telling.

The use of direct address in the lives of saints and miracles of the Virgin, as well as in the chronicles and romances, indicates that they too were intended to be recited, often of course in church. In that respect they may be considered

<sup>1</sup> See also *Tars*, *Morte Arth.*, *Otuel*, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage (EETS, Extra xxxix, 1882), *Seven Sages*, *Sir Beues*.

<sup>2</sup> A few instances are as follows: *Gui*, 4255; *Hugues*, 402; *Huon*, 4947; *La Mort Aym.*, 2596, 3053; *Arth.* 445; *Arth. and Merl.*, 1708, 5075, 6595; *Bruce*, I, 445; *Guy* (Auch.), 2449, 3997, 4298, 5515; *Kyng Alis.*, 4852; *Richard*, 4041, 4203, 4275, 5353; *Sir Beues*, 4436; *Sir Deg.*, 1443; *Sir Tristem* (ed. Kölling, Heilbronn, 1882), 1429; *Tale of Gamelyn*, ed. W. W. Skeat (Oxford, 1915), 169, 289, 341, 551, 769; *Titus and Vesp.*, 815; *Wars of Alex.*, 212, 1455, 1718, 2317, 3468; *Wm. of Pal.*, 170, 384, 5527; *Amis*, 280, 1189; *Sir Eglam.*, 39, 123, 696, 1027, 1185.

in the same class with sermons, as Dr Whiting has pointed out to me. The form of address, however, differs little from that of the romances, as may be seen in the following selections from Helsing Kjellman's *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*:

Seignurs baruns, ore eez pes;  
Kant vei ke tant estes engrès,  
De oïr de la mere Dé (p. 75).

Ore entendez pur Deu amur  
Vus ke estes tant peccheür  
De un ensample bon & duz  
Or escotez, seignurs trestuz (p. 49).

As these passages illustrate the use of direct address in the Virgin miracles, so the following one from *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr* shows that much the same thing was to be found in the saints' lives:

Seignurs, pur amur Deu e pur salvatiun,  
Leissiez la vanite, entendez al sermun (21-22).

And so it was throughout the mass of literature that was intended to be recited. When we consider the circumstances under which such recitations took place — after feasts when the guests were all talking at once, for example — we see the reason for such a custom of address. It was necessary for the story-teller to ask that all noise come to an end and that attention be given to him. His tale would be told in vain unless he made such a request. Direct address to an audience is then the surest evidence of the intention of oral delivery. In most works bearing such evidence, however, certain other accompanying characteristics are to be found. The first of these is excessive repetition. Perhaps the constant repetition of words, phrases, situations, and ideas is one of the most striking differences between the work of mediaeval and of modern poets. Today we attempt to avoid repetition; whether we are writing prose or poetry, we seek for variety of phrasing. It was not so, apparently, with the mediaeval poet. The more often a theme or a phrase had been used, the better suited it was to his purpose. He was not interested in polishing the style of his story, but in getting it told. So it is with most of us when we speak. We must bear in mind that this literature we are discussing was meant to be spoken.

It is convenient to divide repetitions found among the mediaeval poets into two groups, according to their relation to the question of oral delivery. The first group includes types of phrases occurring frequently in works intended to be heard but showing no specific intention of uniting the poet or minstrel with his hearers. These phrases appeal rather to that fondness of the popular audience — well known, no doubt, to those who wrote for it — for hearing things said in a familiar way. Four varieties of phrases make up this group: introductory phrases, descriptive phrases, expletives, and formulas. For each of these, illustrations will be drawn primarily from the Middle English romances, and to some extent from the Old French.

For introducing an incident the writer of romances had a set phrase which he repeated again and again. In English it is not unlike our familiar fairy tale

herald, 'once upon a time.' Instead of 'upon a time' the mediaeval poet said frequently 'on a day,' and usually prefaced it by 'so fil hit.' So we have

Tylle hyt befelle upon a day<sup>1</sup>

*Sir Eglam.*, 49.

It felle so appone a daye

*Sir Isum.*, 38.

Hit was vpon a someres day

*King Horn*, ed. H. G. McKnight (EETS, xiv, 1866), 81.

þan on a day bifel it so

*Amis*, 349.

and so on times without number. Another favorite introductory phrase that varies little is some form of 'on the morrow when it was day.'

A morn, whan hyt was day

*Lib. Desc.*, 481.

On þe morne when hyt was day

*Le Bone Florence*, 1445.

To-morwe, so sone so it is day

*Guy* (Auch.), 841.

Sone at morn, when it was day

*Yw. and Gaw.*, 2349.

These two introductory phrases occur over and over again in Middle English. In French there seems not to be so much sameness. Most often we find the simple 'un jor' or 'il avint,' not usually the combination. Similar to the 'on the morrow' in English may be noted these in French:

Au matinet, quant le jor vit

*Floire et Blancheflor*, ed. du Meril (Paris, 1856), 1272

Au matin quant il s'esveilla

*Renart* (Branch VII), 283

Au matinet com il vit ajorner

*La Mort Aym.*, 3410.

On the whole the French poet seems fond of more elaborate expressions as in

Quant la nuit vient et trespasa li jors

Et du soleil perdirent la luor

*La Mort Aym.*, 685.

More numerous than these introductory phrases, however, are repetitions of the second type, which we have called descriptive phrases. Everyone who knows the romances will immediately recall some of the most commonly recurring adjectives.<sup>2</sup> These phrases are not in the nature of fixed epithets, describing a particular trait of an individual character, like Virgil's 'pius Aeneus.' They are applied indiscriminately in one romance after another. Any knight or squire may

<sup>1</sup> See also *Le Bone Florence*, 1597; *Sir Perc.*, 233, 1781; *Lib. Desc.*, 31.

<sup>2</sup> Several collections of stock repetitions have been made. See particularly those by Zielke in his *Sir Orfeo*, by Kölbing in his *Amis and Amiloun* and *Sir Tristrem*, by Zupitza in *Guy of Warwick*, and by Schmirgel in Kölbing's *Sir Beues of Hamtoun*. And see also B. J. Whiting's 'Proverbs in Certain Middle English Romances in Relation to their French Sources', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xv (1933), 75 ff. I am purposely omitting here collections of Chaucer's phrases.

be 'doughty in dede,' or 'corteise, hende, and fre,' or 'worthy under wede'; ladies, too, are 'hende and fre,' and 'faire,' and 'bright,' often 'of hewe' or 'in bour.' If anything is white, it is almost sure to be white as milk, or foam, or lily flower or whale bone (i.e., ivory); if black, it is black as coal or pitch; if red, usually red as blood or as a rose; and anything that is still, is still as a stone. When people are happy, they are almost invariably 'glad and blithe'; when they are married, the ceremony is celebrated 'with grete solempnitee,' and their after lives are led 'with joy and bliss.' A few of the more common French phrases, similar to those we have mentioned in English, are 'blance con flors d'este' or 'blanche comme fleur de lis,' 'come rose ot vis colore,' 'les iouls ot vairs.' Palfreys are often 'vair' too; ladies are 'sage,' 'plaisant,' 'simple,' 'cointe,' and very often 'o le cler vis'; knights are 'cortois,' 'franche,' of 'gent cors'; and both knights and ladies have 'blances mains.' Over and over again, particularly in English, these phrases occur; apparently the idea of varying them never entered the mind of the average mediaeval poet. When he wished to describe a knight or a lady or a horse, he naturally used certain familiar adjectives. Those that first came to his mind satisfied him; he had no need to seek further. His method is different from that of the conscious literary artist of today, who attempts to avoid repetition and strives for the right word in the right place. But something like it may be found in the abundance of outworn phrases in some of our cheaper magazine stories, and more especially in our colloquial speech. How many times a day do we hear the adjectives *good, nice, lovely, wonderful* applied to books, cakes, or persons indiscriminately? Do we not instinctively, if one element of a comparison is given, complete it with the first that comes to mind, however trite it may be? *White as snow, black as ink, slow as death*, we say again and again in our every-day speech. As Professor Lowes has said, "The temptation to slip at ease along a groove already worn is irresistible."<sup>1</sup> The mediaeval poet, at least the poet of the popular romances, wrote as he spoke, with no attempt to resist the irresistible. The result we have seen in the great amount of repetition. To know the romances as they were meant to be known we should listen to them. Then we should be better able to judge whether or not as Saintsbury says, 'it is certain as a matter of fact . . . that repetitions, stock phrases, identity of scheme and form, which are apt to be felt as disagreeable in reading, are far less irksome, and even have a certain attraction, in matter orally delivered.'<sup>2</sup> That romances filled with such repetitions had an attraction for the people of the Middle Ages seems certain from the number of them produced.

The mediaeval poet, moreover, was not in the least averse to padding. Thus we have a whole group of commonly repeated expletives or phrases used apparently for the primary purpose of helping out the meter.<sup>3</sup> Many of these fillers

<sup>1</sup> *Convention and Revolt in Poetry* (Fifth impression, Boston and New York, 1924), p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory* (New York, 1897), p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Lydgate, of course, is well known for his padding. Though he wrote later than our period and intended his work for perusal rather than for oral delivery (see p. 422, n. 3), nevertheless, he seemed to be unable to get away from the padding repetitions so characteristic of the popular romance poets, with whose work he was no doubt familiar.

may be classified as inclusive phrases; that is, they include everyone or everything. Sometimes these are alliterative as in 'lered and lewid,' 'lefe and loth,' 'wele or wo,' 'blod and bon,' 'tour and toun'; often they have no alliterative quality as in 'rich and poor,' 'high and low,' 'word and dede,' 'litel and michel,' 'more and lesse,' 'al and som,' 'great and small,' 'old and young,' 'far and near,' 'to go and ride.' Many phrases have to do with time as 'right anon,' 'sone anon,' also 'swyth,' 'without delay,' 'day and night' (extremely common, as is 'nuit et jor' in French), 'for the nones', 'within a litel while.' Sometimes a whole line exists only for the purpose of furnishing a rhyme at the end. Two pairs of rhymes among the most common in Middle English are *life — wife* and *other — brother*. If one of either of these pairs occurs, we are almost certain to find the second one.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, among expletives are to be classed certain words and phrases, entirely redundant, which serve no purpose but that of rhyme tags. Among those often repeated are 'to speke with tonge,' 'to see with eye,' 'to tell in my talking,' 'to wit withouten wene.' In addition to these we should mention certain tags of whole lines or parts of lines which, though not commonly repeated phrases, are characteristic of the method of the mediaeval popular poet. These are generally known as the 'X and nothing I' phrases. The following passage from *Havelok* is an illustration:

Hwan dame Leue herde þat,  
Up she stirte, and nouht ne sat.<sup>2</sup>

Finally in this first group of repetitions should be mentioned the use of epic formulas in mediaeval poetry. Professor Tatlock has covered the ground so well in his discussion of the formulas in *Lazamon*<sup>3</sup> that only a word is necessary. In that discussion Professor Tatlock finds the closest parallels to formulas such as *Lazamon* uses in the *Nibelungenlied*, the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Poema del Cid*, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Of the relation of *Lazamon*'s usage to that of other Middle English poets he says:

The outstanding differences between the usage in other Middle English poems and in *Lazamon* are these. In the former they are more of a mere verse convenience, and therefore especially abound in works using a complicated stanza; they are apt to be brief, parenthetical, and unessential, making little or no contribution to the narrative. In *Lazamon*, on the other hand, while often a convenience, they are longer, and oftener carry on the narrative by contributing something essential. . . . In other works, the most striking point is the rarity of original formulas, the number common to several poems, a general stock of insignificant, shop-worn counters, the profusion of which suggests helplessness.<sup>4</sup>

Some of these formulas which may be found in many Middle English poems we may examine briefly. Among the most common are:

<sup>1</sup> See *Hav.* 348-349, 1662-63; *Flor. and Blaun.*, 683-684; *Seven Sages*, 317-318, 1431-32, 2813-14; *Guy*, 4605-6; *Titus and Vesp.*, 3697-98; *Seege of Troye*, 793-794; *Kyng Alis.*, 3706-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Hav.* 565-566. See also 537-538, 811-812, 2436-37; *Richard*, 5044-45, 1889-90.

<sup>3</sup> 'Epic Formulas, Especially in *Lazamon*,' *PMLA*, xxxviii (1923), 494 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 521-522.

þe king þarof was glad & bliþe,  
And þankede hem mani a siþe.<sup>1</sup>

Euerich of hem oþer gan kisse  
And make meche ioie & blisse.<sup>2</sup>

þo Beues þe wolde han slawe  
And i-broust of þe lif dawe.<sup>3</sup>

For he was ded on lesse hwile  
þan men mouhte renne a mile.<sup>4</sup>

He was þe wihtest man at nede  
þat þurte riden on ani stede.<sup>5</sup>

Al his ioie was went oway  
And comen was al his care.<sup>6</sup>

þat riche douke, opon a day,  
On dere hunting went him to play.<sup>7</sup>

She seyde, 'Allas, that I was bore.'<sup>8</sup>

These are only a few of the formulas that are common property of the romance writers. The repetition of them, as Professor Tatlock says, makes Middle English romances alike rather than individual. As these longer formulas are used in the romances, they differ little from any other stock repetitions such as those we have been examining. The frequent repetition of a familiar formula rather than the creation of a new one is characteristic of the mediaeval romance writer.

The second group of repetitions is more significant in our study of oral delivery since it consists of those types of phrases which actually further the purpose of oral delivery by showing the relation of the poet or minstrel to his audience. This group consists of transitions, asseverations, and oaths.

The mediaeval poet believed in clear transitions, which left no doubt in his listeners' minds as to what they had just heard and what they were about to hear. As a rule the lines of transition are nearly identical. The following will serve as typical examples from French and English:

<sup>1</sup> *Sir Beues*, 529-530. See also 905-906, 3471-72; *Yw. and Gaw.*, 1091-92; *Sir Laun.*, 586-587; *Lib. Desc.*, 694-695, 1270-71, 1762-63; *Tars*, 463-464; *Amis*, 1402-3, 1438-39; *Sir Orf.*, 469-470.

<sup>2</sup> *Reinbrun*, 97, 10-11. See also *Sir Beues*, 3057-58, 3943-44; *Richard*, 1535-36.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir Beues*, 3655-56. See also 208-209, 4455-56; *Guy*, 1551-52; *Kyng Alis.*, 6090-91; *Arth. and Merl.*, 145-146, 187-188; *Morte Arth.*, 3737; *Sir Ferum.*, 3573-74.

<sup>4</sup> *Hav.*, 1830. See also *Sir Beues* (O), 2219-20; *Arth. and Merl.*, 1529-30, 7129-30.

<sup>5</sup> *Hav.*, 9-10 and 25-26. See also *Sir Beues*, 2560; *Guy*, 3874, 7199.

<sup>6</sup> *Amis*, 905-906. See also *Sir Beues*, 712; *Sir Isum.*, 73, 188, 645; *Richard*, 821-823, 6724.

<sup>7</sup> *Amis*, 721-722. See also *Sir Isum.*, 38-39, 628-629, 649-650; *Sir Eglam.*, 937-938.

<sup>8</sup> Among many examples of this formula, see *Sir Beues*, 2699-700; *Yw. and Gaw.*, 1645, 2062, 2102; *Le Bone Florence*, 826; *Richard*, 6699; *Hav.*, 1878; *Seege of Troye*, 639, 1221; *Arth. and Merl.*, 5801; *Sir Orf.*, 544; *Emare*, 772-773, 556-557; *Sir Degare* (ed. French and Hale in *Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1930), 83.



Or lairons de Renart a tant  
Et si diromes d'un serjant.<sup>1</sup>

Now off this lete we bee  
And off the kyng speke wee.<sup>2</sup>

And so it goes throughout the romances. The obvious transition, like the direct address to an audience, is a necessary accompaniment of work to be orally delivered. Just as today we are less offended by a bald transition when we are listening to a sermon or a lecture than when we are reading to ourselves, and may often be grateful for it, so it must have been in the Middle Ages. The writers of romances, knowing the conditions under which their work would be presented, took pains to mark carefully the points at which they passed from one subject to another. The mediaeval listeners could not glance back a few pages if they lost track of the story for a moment. They must then have been grateful for the often recurring lines that told them just what had happened and what was coming next.

But we have not yet done with repetitions. Because the mediaeval story-teller was anxious that his audience should believe his tale, he repeated time and time again his assertion that it was true. These asseverations are another marked characteristic of the French and English romances. Alongside of such expressions as 'trewly,' 'sooth to say,' and their like are references to the romance from which the story is drawn. Originality was the last claim of the mediaeval poet. He often vouched for the truth of his story by referring to the source which was his authority. There is little variety in the asseverations. The examples which follow may be found frequently in almost any Middle English romance: 'certes,' 'certain,' 'douteless,' 'withouten doute,' 'withouten faile,' 'for sothe,' 'without lesing,' 'this dar I say,' 'the certain soth for to say,' 'in romance as we rede,' 'als saith the book.' And in French we find 'ceo sachez ben,' 'senz faille,' 'ço sai de veir,' 'sanz mentir,' 'sans decevoir,' 'je ne menc mie,' 'si com jo truis,' 'fet li romanz,' 'l'escrit recorde.' As is the case with stock descriptive phrases, we find a modern parallel to these asseverations not so much in artistic literary work as in popular speech. 'To tell the truth,' 'I dare say,' 'and that's no lie' smack of the colloquial rather than the literary, though some expressions like 'no doubt' have been dignified by literary use.

From asserting the truth of a statement to swearing it is but a short step. And save for a few rare individuals like Chaucer's parson, the people of the Middle Ages had no scruples about swearing. Perhaps they swore more than we seem to do because they prayed more, or at least said prayers more often. At any rate

<sup>1</sup> *Renart* (Branch VII), 115-116. See also *Doon*, 6035-36; Chrétien de Troyes, *Cliges*, ed. W. Foerster, (Halle, 1888), 570 ff.; *Méliador*, 2447-48, 1063 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Richard*, 1114-15. See also *Guy* (Auch.), 4239, 4789; *Kyng Alis.*, 4850-51; *Sir Ferum.*, 1426, 2138; *Titus and Vesp.* 1163, 2215, 4885; *Alis* (A Frag.), ed. F. P. Magoun, Jr. in *Gests of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1929), 44-45, 452, 1033, 1200; *Wm. of Pal.*, 78-79, 382-383, 1762-63, 1835, 2447, 2616, 2707; *Sir Beues*, 1345, 1708, 3117, 3615, 3709, 4005, 4039, 4323; *Emare*, 70, 310, 742, 946; *Arth. and Merl.*, 4195, 6755, 7269, 8327, 8570; *Flor. and Blaun.*, 203; *Lib. Desc.*, 1297; *Sir Perc.*, 1057, 1122; *Yw. and Gaw.*, 41, 869; *Tars*, 343-344.

in the romances praying and swearing are not always easy to distinguish. God, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Ghost, the Saints, particularly John, Thomas, James, Denis, Martin, Augustine or Austin, and Michael, are called upon for aid one moment and sworn by the next. Some of the French oaths are taken over bodily into English as in 'par ma foie,' 'par sainte charité'; and some are perverted as in 'pardee.' 'God's (or Cristes) curs mote he have' is a favorite, as are 'by Cristes ore,' 'by him who died on tree,' and 'by hevene kyng.' It is not only in conversation that the romances abound in oaths. They are used commonly in the narrative itself, another mark of its colloquial character.

Thus we see that throughout mediaeval narratives that begin with a call for attention, a direct indication of the intention of oral delivery, are to be found countless repetitions of stock phrases of the kind we have been examining. So striking are they that we may feel justified in considering them not only a mark of inferior poets laboring for a fitting rhyme, but also an important characteristic of narratives orally delivered.

In addition to the constant repetition of stock phrases, the frequent use of religious beginnings and endings is a marked characteristic of such works as bear evidence of the intention of oral delivery. Either before or after the usual call for attention the poet invokes a blessing upon the company before him, and he usually closes with a benediction.<sup>1</sup> The *Romance of Emare* contains an interesting passage which throws light on the custom of opening with prayer. After the opening lines the poet says:

Menstrelles þat wolken fer and wyde,  
Her and þer in every a syde,  
In mony a dyuerse londe,  
Sholde, at her bygynnyng,  
Speke of þat ryghtwes kyng  
That made both see and sonde.<sup>2</sup>

That most minstrels did speak of 'þat ryghtwes kyng' an examination of the romances shows. Some of the most typical openings follow:

Signor, or escoutés, que Dieus vos soit amis  
Li rois de sainte gloire qui en la crois fu mis,  
Qui le ciel e le tere et le mont establi  
Et Adan et Evain forma et benei!

*Aiol*

Segnour, oiiés, ke Jhesus bien vous fache  
Li glorieus ki nous fist à s'ymage!

*Huon.*<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Parley A. Christensen in a dissertation on *The Beginnings and Endings of the Middle English Metrical Romances* (Stanford, 1927), says, 'In addressing himself to a group of listeners, the minstrel could probably do nothing more likely to win favor or to secure respectful attention than to offer a prayer for the souls of those present' (p. 58). And again, 'But whatever may have been the purpose or the motives of these supplications, there can be little doubt that they came to be regarded as a very proper thing' (p. 99).

<sup>2</sup> St. 2. Christensen cites this passage on page 59.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Doon, Bueve de Hantone* (ed. A. Stimming, Dresden, 1911), *Gui, L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, 18 ff., *Elie de Saint Gille*, ed. G. Raynaud (Paris, 1879), *Li Coronemenz Loois*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1888).

Jesu Crist, heven king,  
 Al ous graunt gode ending.  
 & seynt Marie, þat swete þing,  
 So be at our bigining  
 & help ous at our nede,  
 & leue ous, wele to spede,  
 þat we habbeþ euer to don,  
 & scheld ous fram our fon!

*Arth. and Merl.*

Jhesu Crist, Lorde of hevene kyng,  
 Graunte us alle his dere blessyng,  
 And hevene unto our mede.

*Sir Isum.*<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes no blessing is invoked, but those present are asked to listen, in the name of God or the Virgin, as in *Amis and Amiloun*:

For goddes loue in trinyte,  
 Al þat ben hend, herkeniþ to me,  
 I pray 3ow par amoure.<sup>2</sup>

Just as we found that the direct address is often repeated at intervals during the romance, apparently after an intermission, so we find invocations in the body of a romance as well as at the beginning.<sup>3</sup> In *William of Palerne* the poet requests his hearers to pray for his patron,<sup>4</sup> and in *Arthur* there are several passages in which the poet calls upon his audience to ask a blessing on Arthur or on the company present.<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps even more common than the invocation at the beginning of a romance is the benediction at the end. In French we find it frequently, not alone in religious pieces where we naturally expect it,<sup>6</sup> but in the *chansons de geste*, and to some extent in the *romans d'aventures* and chronicles.<sup>7</sup> Almost all of the Middle English romances end with a benediction or some religious phrase such as the following one from *Sir Beues of Hamtoun*:

þus endeþ Beues of Hamtoun  
 God 3eue vs alle is benesoun!  
 Amen.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See also *Morte Arth.*, *Athel.*, *Octavian* (both Northern and Southern Versions), *Lib. Desc.*, *Hav.* 15 ff., *Sir Eglam.*, *Sir Deg.*, *The Earl of Toulouse*, ed. French and Hale, *op. cit.* (New York, 1930), *Gest.*, *Yw. and Gaw.*, *Torrent of Portyngale*, ed. E. Adam, EETS (Extra LI, 1887), *Reinbrun*, *Avowynge of King Arther, etc.*, ed. J. Robson (Camden Soc., London, 1842), *Guy* (Auch. a), St. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Tars*.

<sup>3</sup> *Doon*, 6038; *La Mort Aym.*, 3053 ff.; *Kyng Alis.*, 2046, 5750; *Richard*, 3727 (blessing invoked on Richard's soul); *Octavian* (So.), 543; *Sir Beues*, 2427-28.

<sup>4</sup> 161 ff. See also 5527 ff.

<sup>5</sup> 105 ff., 189-190, 291 ff., 346 ff., 445 ff., 531-532.

<sup>6</sup> *Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, p. 19, l. 153 ff., p. 23, l. 146, p. 30, l. 127, p. 44, l. 99 ff., p. 59, l. 397 ff., p. 74, l. 286 ff.; *La Vie de Saint Thomas*, end.

<sup>7</sup> See endings of *Aiol*, *Doon*, *Gaufrey*, ed. Guessard and Chabille (Paris, 1859), *Hugues, Huon, Fierabras, Gui de Nanteuil*, ed. Guessard (Paris, 1861), *Raoul de Cambrai, Gui, Roman de la Violette, La Mort Aym.*, Renart's *Galeran de Bretagne*, ed. S. Foulet (Paris, 1925), *Florence de Rome* ed. A. Wallenskold (Paris, 1907), *Guillaume de Palerne*, ed. H. Michelant (Paris, 1876).

<sup>8</sup> See also *Seven Sages, Emare, Gest.*, *Duke Rowlande and Sir Ottuell*, ed. S. J. H. Herrtage, EETS (Extra xxxv, 3880), *Kyng Alis.*, *Tars*, *Sir Laun.*, *Le Bone Florence*, *Le Morte Arth.*, *Lib. Desc.*, *Parle-*

In *Havelok* the poet asks particularly for a blessing upon himself:

For þi ich wolde biseken you,  
 þat hauen herd þe rime nu,  
 þat ilke of you, with gode wille  
 Seye a pater-noster stille,  
 For him þat haueth þe ryme maked,  
 And þerfore fele nihts waked;  
 þat Iesu Crist his soule bringe  
 Bi-forn his fader at his endinge.

A-M-E-N.

Whatever their form, the religious beginning and ending are common in mediaeval poetry. They are to be accounted for partly by the fact that, as Christensen says, 'the minstrels as professional entertainers, facing in France and England the same problems, evolved a technique of approach and a technique of withdrawal.'<sup>1</sup> Together with the use of excessive repetition of stock phrases they may be considered as indications of the intention of oral delivery, while direct address to an audience furnishes definite evidence of such an intention.

The study just completed has accomplished, I think, the object with which it was undertaken. That oral delivery of popular literature was the rule rather than the exception in the Middle Ages has been established beyond question by the evidence examined. That such popular literature came to have certain striking peculiarities is equally clear. The ground is now prepared for the examination in a later article of the influence of this custom of oral delivery on the style of the great English poet of the Middle Ages, Geoffrey Chaucer.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE.

## GERALD THE NATURALIST

By URBAN T. HOLMES

THERE are not many clerks of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries who stand out clearly as personalities. I find myself thinking of Giraut de Barri, or Gerald the Welshman, as a twelfth-century Pepys. He was insufferably vain, like the great Samuel, and he had a persistent curiosity for things around him: legends, language, people, and natural phenomena.<sup>2</sup> If we may believe the *Rebus a se gestis* Gerald was especially proud of his *Topographia Hibernica*, a description of Ireland and the Irish which he composed at his home in Wales, after a three-year stay in Ireland from 1185 to 1188. So unique did he consider this work that he read it in three instalments before the inhabitants of Oxford. On the first day he rendered a portion for all the paupers of the town; on the second he recited from it for the professors and better students; on the third he gave the

*ment of Thre Ages, Sir Eglam., Sir Gawain and the Greene Knight*, ed. Tolkien and Gordon (Oxford, 1925), *Sir Isum., Sir Orfeo, Yw. and Gaw., Octavian* (No.), *Seege of Troye, Robert of Sicily*, ed. French and Hale, *op. cit.* (New York, 1930), *Ipomedon*, ed. Kölbing (Breslau, 1889), *Chron., The Jeaste of Syr Gawayne* (in Sir F. Madden's *Syr Gawayne*, London, 1859). <sup>1</sup> P. 166.

<sup>2</sup> For Gerald the philologist see C. C. Coulter and F. P. Magoun, Jr. in *SPECULUM*, I, 104-109. For his authority in music see T. Gérold, *La musique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1932), p. 236.

remainder for the lesser scholars, the burghers, and the knights. He also recommended this book as reading matter for the Archbishop of Canterbury when he visited Wales to preach the Crusade. All this is evidence that the sprightly Gerald considered his *Topographia* as something above the ordinary.<sup>1</sup>

We are inclined to agree with him. The information on Irish fauna alone contained in this *Topographia* is indicative of his superior talents as an observer. It is a pity that Gerald did not continue to include zoölogical material in his other works, winning for himself thereby a place beside Roger Bacon as one of the early founders of modern science. But his remarks on Irish fauna have not been totally ignored, particularly those concerned with birds. Ussher and Warren, in their book on Irish birds, cite Gerald frequently as their earliest, and a trustworthy observer of feathered life in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> It is my purpose in this present article to consider briefly all the information on fauna: fish, reptiles, birds, and mammals, presented in the *Topographia*, with a view to clarifying Gerald's remarks by what is known today. At the same time we wish to call attention to a point which was made by Lynn Thorndike some years ago, to the effect that zoölogical knowledge in the Middle Ages was not adequately represented by the bestiaries dependent upon the *Physiologus* of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> The so-called bestiaries were conventional literature of a pious sort showing none of the fruits of first-hand observation.<sup>4</sup> However, beside the bestiaries, the thirteenth century had more serious accounts of zoölogical matter in the *Speculum naturale* of Vincent of Beauvais, the *De proprietatibus rerum* of Bartholomew the Englishman, and the *De animalibus* of Albert the Great; but these works were based very closely on the ancient authorities, and therefore, the personal observation of such a splendid mind as that of Albert the Great was not so free as that of Gerald in his *Topographia*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, I, 72-73, 409; III, 92, 93. Consult also C. H. Haskins in *SPECULUM*, I, 221 and L. Thorndike, *ibid.*, I, 445-446.

<sup>2</sup> R. J. Ussher and R. Warren, *The Birds of Ireland* (London, 1900).

<sup>3</sup> Consult Thorndike's *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (Macmillan, 1923), pp. 497-503. In this present paper I am indebted to Professor Thorndike for several suggestions. In the study of mediaeval science there is no greater authority than he.

<sup>4</sup> Chief among the mediaeval bestiaries are Philippe de Thatin's *Bestiaire*, Guillaume de Normandie's *Bestiaire divin*, Gervaise's *Livre des bestes*, the pseudo-Jacques de Vitry's *Bestiaire moralisé* (*Rom. Forsch.*, v, 392-418), Richart de Fournival's *Bestiaire d'Amour*, the Provençal bestiary of *B.N. f.fr. 22543*, fol. 140, the Italian *Bestiario moralizzato* (*Rendic. dell'Acc. dei Lincei*, v, 719-729), the *Livre dou Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, the *Acerba* of Cecco d'Ascoli, the pseudo-Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Liber de bestiis et aliis rebus*, and the Old English *Physiologus*. On the *Physiologus* of Alexandria consult F. Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus* (Strassburg, 1889). I have a student, Miss L. G. Allen, who is coördinating for me the content of these bestiaries.

<sup>5</sup> I have used Bartholomew in the original text (Nuremberg: A. Koburger, 1492). Albert the Great's treatise on animals has been magnificently edited by H. Stadler in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. Philosophie des Mittelalters*, vols. xv, xvi (Münster, 1916-20). Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum naturale* has not been reprinted since 1624. There is an imperative need for a rotograph or phototype reproduction. Michael Scotus' translation of Aristotle's *Historia animalium*, and the translation of the avicenna abridgement by Scotus, are important for our knowledge of ancient bestiary material. There is also the *Historia naturalis* of Pliny, and the encyclopedias of Solinus and of Isidore of Seville. Beside the works of Bartholomew, Albert, and Vincent of Beauvais, we should make some mention of the *Bonum universale de proprietatibus apium* of Thomas of Cantimpré, also of the thirteenth century.

Gerald says that the lakes and rivers of Ireland abound in three varieties of fish: salmon, trout, and muddy eels, and that the river Shannon, in particular, has very fat shad (*alosae*) and *muraenae oculosae*.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the common sharp-nosed eels are plentiful. The twaite shad (*Clupea finta*) ascend the rivers to spawn; the *muraenae* are lampreys, both marine and freshwater, which he calls *oculosae* because they have seven lateral openings behind each large eye. These give a fleeting impression of eels with sixteen eyes.

Our author then continues by deploring the absence in Ireland of pikes (*lucii*), perch (*perchii*), roaches (*rochiae*), barbels (*barbuli*), ides (*gardones*), and gudgeons (*gubiones*). Also found lacking by him are loaches (*lochii*), sea-mulletts (*capitones*), and minnows (*verones*). Although very common now, the pike or luce may well have been absent from the waters of twelfth-century Ireland. This fish shows evidence of having been introduced by man into the British Isles. Edward the First, when he regulated the price of the fisherman's catch, listed the pike as higher than salmon and more than ten times more expensive than cod. Chaucer's mentions of the pike and pickerel would indicate that they were a rarity in his day.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the perch seems to have been plentiful in Ireland, as also the gudgeon and the minnow. The loach is also present, at least in Dublin County. But Gerald was correct in noting the absence of the ide, the barbel, the roach, and the sea-mullet. This evidence from the Ireland of today would suggest that Gerald was wrong concerning the presence of four out of the thirteen fish which he mentioned. (I am including shad, trout, lampreys, and eels.) It is not unlikely that some of his information came second-hand from monastery fish-purveyors, and it is possible that their Latin names for fish did not always correspond exactly with his. In Lough Neagh and elsewhere, the rudd or red-eye is a plentiful species, which bears close resemblance to the roach. They were confused by the eighteenth-century naturalist Thomas Pennant. It is of interest to note that Gerald, or his informant, did not confuse these two.<sup>3</sup>

The *Topographia* says that there are three varieties of trout, found in fresh water in Ireland, which are not known elsewhere; their names, in Latinized vernacular, are *glassanos*, *catos*, and *bricios*. We must discuss the matter of the names first; after that we shall attempt to identify the fish to which they refer. The first name is certainly the same as modern Irish *glasán* 'whiting,' and the third must be related to modern Irish *breac* 'trout.' I identify the second name as a variation of Anglo-Saxon *scéota*, English *shoat* or *shot*. These English forms still designate certain varieties of trout in Devon and Cornwall.<sup>4</sup> Modern Irish

<sup>1</sup> For Irish fish my first reference has been R. F. Scharff's *Catalogue of the Collection of Irish Fishes in the Science and Art Museum* (National Museum of Ireland), Dublin, 1889. I have used also William Yarrell, *A History of British Fishes* (London, 1841, 2 vols.), *The Cambridge Natural History*, vol. VII: *Fishes, Ascidiars, etc.* (London, 1922), and G. Rondelet's *L'Histoire entière des poissons* (Lyons, 1558, 2 parts); also Lacépède's *Histoire des poissons*. Gerald's *Topographia Hibernica* is in vol. V of the *Opera*, ed. J. F. Dimock, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (London, 1867). As most of the fauna references are in Distinction I of the *Topographia*, only a few pages apart, with ample marginal headings, we have omitted throughout this paper the citations to the *Topographia*, except where they refer to Distinction II.

<sup>2</sup> Yarrell, I, 485.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 400.

<sup>4</sup> *New English Dictionary* under *shoat* (1).

has *sgadán* 'little scad' for the herring. But note that Gerald identifies the *catos* of his day as 'marino haleci tam forma et quantitate quam colore et sapore simillimi.' Surely on the strength of such evidence we may assume that *catos* was a Latinization of *scad* or *scat*. The identification of the fish which Gerald associated with these names presents some difficulties. We begin by listing the species of the trout or salmon family which are in Irish waters today. They are the salmon, salmon trout, common brown trout, pollan, lake trout (varieties *ferox* and *estuarius*), gillaroo trout (varieties *stomachicus* and *nigripennis*), Gray's 'charr, and Cole's charr.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the three fish designated by Gerald must be sought among these. A truly Irish species, in this group, is the pollan or 'fresh-water herring,' which is related to the *gwyniad* of Wales but is not the same. In view of what has been said above about the word *scad*, I have no hesitation in assuming that *scad* or *catus* was used by Gerald for the pollan. Today *scad* is the name applied to the horse-mackerel, a sea fish which was obviously not the species referred to in the *Topographia*. Of the *glassanus* Gerald says: 'longiores et rotundiores [than the common trout] albis carnibus consertis et sapidis' and 'thymallis, qui vulgariter umbræ dicuntur persimiles, nisi quod capite degenerant grossiore.' The first comparison alluding to the tasty, firm, white flesh, can be best applied to the salmon trout, a sea fish which spawns in fresh water and which has even been stocked there successfully. But the second description of the *glassanus* suits best the *Salmo ferox*, or lake trout, which has a superficial resemblance to the *umbra* or grayling. This lake trout also has, when freshly caught, a 'thin tint of rich lake colour, which fades away as the fish dies, and so rapidly, that the progressive changes of colour are easily perceived by an attentive eye.'<sup>2</sup> As Irish *glas* means 'blue' or 'green' we see here a possible explanation for the use of the name *glassanus* to designate this fish. The flesh of the *Salmo ferox*, unlike that of the salmon trout, is yellowish and not very palatable. It is found also in northern Britain, but Gerald may not have been aware of this, or, if he were, it is possible that he saw some minor variations between the Irish and British varieties. It is my suggestion for *glassanus* that Gerald confused the flesh of the salmon trout with the exterior of the *Salmo ferox* or lake trout. In the case of the third fish he says: 'turtris, nisi quod maculis carent, per omnia similes.' The *bricius* is then similar to the common trout except that it lacks the spots. This is a contradiction, for Irish *breac* has the basic meaning 'speckled.' Surely the Irish would not have given the name *breac* or *bricius* to a fish that was notable for not being spotted! It is commonly stated by ichthyologists that the trout show considerable local variation. Any one species may have odd characteristics in a particular locality. I believe that Gerald had seen a specimen of the common trout lacking in spots from a certain locality, and had inferred therefrom that this was a distinct species. It is surprising that he did not remark upon the gillaroo. This is indeed a strictly Irish variety characterized by its thickness and large stomach. It is evident from the descriptions that this fish was not one of the three observed by him. In this connection some one should call to the attention of the editors of the

<sup>1</sup> Scharff, pp. 12-15.

<sup>2</sup> Yarrell, II, 114.

Liddell and Scott Greek lexicon that *θυμαλλος* (Aelian, *N.H.*, 14,22) is not 'an unknown fish.' It is the grayling (*thymallus aeliani*) of Lago Maggiore, of which there is a close species native to our Lake Michigan.<sup>1</sup>

Gerald states definitely that in Ireland 'Caret serpentibus et colubris; caret bufonibus et ranis; caret tortuis et scorpionibus; caret et draconibus.'<sup>2</sup> The lack of snakes is a statement famous in legend and literature. Ditmars says, 'The former [grass snake] is alleged to have been observed in Ireland, but it is certainly rare on that island if now existing at all.'<sup>3</sup> The smooth snake (*Coronella laevis*) and the common viper (*Vipera berus*), which are the two remaining British snakes, have never thrived in Ireland. It is of interest in this connection that New Zealand is entirely free of snakes. With reason Giraldus does not trust the old legend that Saint Patrick drove the vipers out, but he believed that the island possesses anti-venomous properties. He asserts that poisonous snakes and amphibians when brought there do not survive. A youth whose vitals were being gnawed by a viper was healed after crossing to Ireland. In comparing the advantages of western Europe over the East Gerald is led to name the snakes of the Orient: asps and vipers, dragons, the *seps*, and the *dipsas*. Any attempt to identify these will remain problematical. They are described under these names, however, in Aetius and Matthioli,<sup>4</sup> and so there is some physical description which can be checked. (It is quite probable, that until recent centuries the observer did not remain to examine a snake too closely.) Various authorities have identified the asp in many ways; it is certain, however, that among the ancients of Alexandria it meant a *cobra*, for the *ἀσπίς* or shield must refer to the cobra's hood. Matthioli, in the sixteenth century, quotes the ancients on the three varieties of asp: the *ptias* or spitting asp, the *chersea* which is a large, brown, land variety, and the *chelidonia* which has the dominating shades of the swallow: black on the back and light underneath. The *ptias* was, beyond much question, the *Naja nigricollis* which is the only snake in northern Africa that has the spitting habit. Ditmars has found that it can shoot its venom as far as

<sup>1</sup> Albert (xxiv, 59) and Vincent (xvii, 97) give very little on the trout. I find nothing in Bartholomew.

<sup>2</sup> For reptiles a good reference is R. L. Ditmars, *Snakes of the World* (Macmillan, 1931); also *Cambridge Natural History*, vol. viii: Hans Gadow, *Amphibia and Reptiles* (London, 1920). Alfred Brehm, *Tierleben*, ed. Otto zur Strasse (Leipzig, 1911-25, 13 vols.) is a master work which has been used occasionally in the preparation of this paper. Matthioli's commentary on Dioscorides is useful for poisonous snakes, as well as for herbs: it is an authority on what was held by the ancients and by the men of the Renaissance; the edition which I have is that of Felice Valgriso (Venice, 1585). Lacépède deals with reptiles also in conjunction with his *Histoire des poissons*. Conrad Gesner's *Historiae animalium* (Tiguri, 1551-87, 5 vols.) is an unsurpassed reference for knowledge of zoology in the Renaissance. It treats of mammals, birds, aquatic animals, fish, serpents, and insects. However, neither this work, nor that by Lacépède, has more than a general value for discussion of the fauna in the *Topographia*.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 77. Gerald certainly knew Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, ch. i, when he wrote of the 'antivenomous' properties of Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> *Q.v.* in the Matthioli commentary to Book vi of Dioscorides. The asp is discussed by Albert (xxv, 31) and by Vincent (xx, 55); the *dipsas*, on which many writers have expressed an opinion, is in Albert (xxv, 24) and Vincent (xx, 34). Bartholomew has one paragraph only on the serpent (xviii, 93).



twelve feet, with remarkable aim for the eyes.<sup>1</sup> The ringhal of South Africa will not answer here. The *Naja hayye* which some have thought to be the *pias*, because it occasionally drools its venom, fits more accurately the *chersea* because of its size and coloring. I am not aware of any attempt to identify the *chelidonia*; I associate it with the *Naja melanoleuca*, the black and white cobra, which suits the description perfectly, except that today it is not present as far north as Egypt.

The *seps* or *cenchrus* was probably the *Vipera aspis* of southern Europe. This snake is a species of the widely distributed viper family and bears no resemblance to the cobras or true asp. It received its species name perhaps through false association at a later date with the celebrated asp of Cleopatra.<sup>2</sup> Aetius gives as another name for the *dipsas* the word *causus* or 'fever'. This was supposedly owed to the feverish effects of its poisoning. We are also informed that the *dipsas* was a viper, an arm's length, with inconspicuous head, with brown and light markings.<sup>3</sup> These details fit the *causus* viper found in Africa today. There are four varieties. The most distinctive is the night adder, or sheep stinger (*Causus rhombatus*) which is probably not the one designated as the *dipsas* since its range does not quite reach northern Africa. Gerald might have mentioned numerous other ophidians referred to by the ancients and by his contemporaries: *Vipera ammodytes*, *Cerastes*, amphibena (*Anguis fragilis*), *sepa* (*Coelopeltis lacertina*); but since he was moderate we shall imitate his example. The *dragones* require no comment;<sup>4</sup> the basilisk is more interesting. It was supposedly a monster born from a snake's egg fertilized by a cock.<sup>5</sup> Specimens of this were displayed in Europe, as late as the eighteenth century, in apothecaries' windows. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (3d. ed., 1796-99) is our informant that these were really thornback fish (*Raia clavata*) distorted in such a way that they resembled one-half chicken and one-half snake. It is possible that such a fake could have been seen in Gerald's day.

There is one good snake story in the *Topographia*. While preparing feed for his horse, a British pilgrim in the Holy Land was bitten by a small serpent; his body melted as though it were of pitch. On inquiry from the natives his friends learned that it was an 'anguem modicum, anguillulae nigrae formam praefertentem . . . istum Galeam vocatum; et a desertis Babiloniae raro . . .' Obviously the story, if true, has been colored somewhat, for a man would not melt in the fashion indicated; but it is not improbable that Gerald got the broad details of the story from a returning pilgrim: that a companion had been bitten by a very small snake from the Syrian desert which was very poisonous, and that the natives called it a *Galea*. If this much is correct we can have no hesitation in identifying the reptile with the *echis colorata*, a venomous carpet snake,

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Lacépède, *Histoire naturelle*, ed. Cuvier-Desmarests (Paris, 1855), I, 340.

<sup>3</sup> Aetius, xxx, 22. Is this the *vipère égyptienne* of Lacépède (*cit. sup.*, I, 342)?

<sup>4</sup> Albert treats the dragon at great length (xxv, 25-28), and so does Vincent of Beauvais (xx, 29-32). Bartholomew has something on it (xviii, 37).

<sup>5</sup> Albert, xxv, 18-19.

less than sixty centimeters long, inhabiting the region from Syria to Persia and India. A closely related variety is the *vipère des pyramides* or desert saw viper of Egypt and Arabia. The Arabic name for the carpet snake is *ghariba*; possibly *galea* was a corruption of this. This snake is not black but a vague description of the dark saw-like markings may have provoked the adjective *niger* from Gerald.<sup>1</sup>

Gerald was not far wrong in his sweeping statement concerning the amphibians. The common European toad (*Bufo vulgaris*) is not present in Ireland; but the natterjack or rush toad exists in the southwest corner in Cork and in Kerry.<sup>2</sup> Our author tells the tale of how a leather strap from Ireland hemmed in a venomous toad so that he could not cross it but burrowed into the mud. This might have happened with a strap from anywhere. The European common toad is poisonous. It is covered with warty glands from which it secretes a milky poison when in agony, that is when crushed or swallowed. The European grassfrog (*Rana temporaria*) is so common in Ireland today that it is difficult to understand how it could be a recent importation later than the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Yet Gerald is so emphatic about the absence of the frog that he emphasizes the fact by a tale of the dire prophecy uttered by Duvenold of Ossory when a single frog was found at Waterford. Of course, thanks to the rarity of preying snakes, it is possible that the grassfrog could have multiplied rapidly when introduced to Ireland. There are no scorpions and no tortoises in any of the British Isles, although fossil remains of the pond-tortoise have been found in East Anglia.

Gerald describes the cicada (*C. plebeius*) very well, remarking upon its use of wings and upon its production of sound through a body orifice, as opposed to the grasshopper and the cricket.<sup>4</sup> The cicada is a native of southern Europe and it is plain that either Gerald or his informant had observed a specimen in Italy — 'in Apuliae et Siciliae partibus.'<sup>5</sup> Northern men of letters who do not know the cicada from personal observation have always substituted for the meaning of the Latin word the insect with which they are familiar, the grasshopper.<sup>6</sup> It is apparent from the passage in the *Topographia* that Gerald had followed this same usage, for to him the true cicadas of Italy are 'cicadae quaedam alatae, non tibiarium nisu sed . . . arterias sub gutture apertas habentes, quibus et voces canoras emittunt'; the grasshoppers must be the other type he had in mind.

The remarks on Irish birds have attracted the most attention.<sup>7</sup> Any one reading the reference by Ussher and Warren will be surprised by the number of

<sup>1</sup> Beside Ditmars, *op. cit.*, p. 184, see the *Enciclopedia italiana* under *Echide*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambr. Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 177, 181.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Albert also knew the cicada at first hand (XXVI, 14). He experimented with it by cutting off its head.

<sup>5</sup> *Cambr. Nat. Hist.*, IV, 297.

<sup>6</sup> J.-H. Fabre, *Souvenirs entomologiques* (Paris: Delagrave, 1922), v, 229 ff.

<sup>7</sup> On Irish birds my first reference has been R. J. Ussher and R. Warren, *op. cit.*; also of value has been the *Cambr. Nat. Hist.*, IX: *Birds*, by A. H. Evans. Pierre Belon's *L'Histoire de la nature des oyseaux* (Paris, 1555) was not available to me in Chapel Hill.

adulterine and albino birds — that is, birds not true to the color of their species — present in Ireland. There are white and cream-colored swallows, white and buff colored magpies, grey hedgesparrows, a robin with ash-colored back, reddish face and white bosom, tawny buff blackbirds, and many others. Some of this may be due to excessive inbreeding among the birds of the island. Gerald noted these adulterine forms: 'Communem avium naturam sortientes, et ab utraque specialitate longe dissidentes.'

He writes of the white *croeriae* of Ireland which empale poisonous beetles upon thorns, to render the thorns poisonous! The *croeria* is unquestionably the great grey shrike (*Lanius excubitor*) which is the only shrike or butcher-bird occurring regularly there. The shrike has inadequate talons for a bird of prey; it thrusts its victim upon a thorn and tears at it when thus empaled. Apparently Gerald was not fully aware of the meaning of this action on the part of the shrike. There are, of course, no poisonous beetles, if we except the carabids who eject an irritant — possibly formic and hydrochloric acid.<sup>1</sup> Many species of these are found in Ireland. The red-backed and woodchat shrikes almost never occur in Ireland but are found in Great Britain. This explains the statement that the Irish *croeriae* were unusual in being white. Gerald adds, in this connection, that the merles or blackbirds of Crete are consistently white. Ultimately this observation must go back to the statement by Pliny that only albino merles are found 'in Cyllenen Arcadiae.'<sup>2</sup> Albert the Great, reflecting this same source says that white blackbirds were general 'in Archayae partibus.'<sup>3</sup> Granted that Gerald knew the statement by Pliny either directly or indirectly we have still to learn why he localized these birds in Crete. The Mediterranean region — North Africa, Madeira, etc. — has a small, light grey or whitish, vulture, the 'white crow' or 'Pharaoh's hen' (*Neophron percnopterus*). This bird feeds along the ground like a merle. Although it is larger than the blackbird it might have been possible for a pilgrim, stopping off at Crete, to confuse these 'white crows' with albino merles.

Gerald says that storks, although rare in Ireland, are habitually black. This is not true today, for Ussher and Warren are at a loss to understand what these black storks could be; they suggest that Gerald was speaking of cormorants.<sup>4</sup> A manuscript containing the *Topographia* (Key 13, B.VIII of the British Museum) has illustrations of the birds listed by Gerald. The colored picture given there for his stork fits exactly the black stork of Europe. This bird is described in the *Cambridge Natural History*: '*Ciconia nigra*, the Black Stork of the British lists is iridescent black, with white breast and belly, red bill, feet, and orbits.'<sup>5</sup> Both Albert and Vincent of Beauvais knew the bird.<sup>6</sup> It is surprising that Gerald's statement is confusing to Ussher and Warren. The *Topographia*

<sup>1</sup> My informant is Dr J. M. Valentine of the University Museum of Natural Science at Chapel Hill. He is an internationally known carabidist.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, x, 45. These albinos exist in all European countries. Pseudo-Hugh of Saint Victor also places them in Greece, following Pliny.

<sup>3</sup> xxiii, 128.

<sup>4</sup> P. 170.

<sup>5</sup> ix, 99.

<sup>6</sup> xxiii, 35 and xvi, 47-48; also Bartholomew, xii, 8.

records the absence in twelfth-century Ireland of the magpie, gerfalcon, lanner falcon, partridges, pheasants, and nightingales. The nightingale has always been missing; also the lanner, which is a native of southern and central Europe. During the nineteenth century the gerfalcon has reputedly been sighted eleven times in Ireland, but in no single case was it identified definitively. Pheasants and magpies are now present, but the evidence points decisively towards their later introduction: the pheasant in the sixteenth century, and the magpie in the early nineteenth. The partridge (*Perdix cinerea*) is so widespread in its occurrence today that we are inclined to believe that Gerald was in error in not recording its presence. He admits that the quail (*Coturnix communis*) were common; and so they were till 1850 since when they are all but extinct. The capercaillie (*Tetrao urogallus*), a woodcock peculiar to Ireland, did not survive after 1800. This is the game bird which is usually identified with the "pavones silvestres" mentioned by the *Topographia*. The common woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*) is still everywhere in the island but this bird is doubtless the *aceta* or *cardiolus* 'major et silvestris' of which, together with the common snipe or *cardiolus* 'minor et palustris,' Gerald discovered a 'copia major' in Ireland. The 'grutae' or grouse (*Lagopus scoticus*) are common today, but Gerald says they were scarce in his time. Skylarks are still 'innumerae' as he observed them to be. In the present year (1934) they are so plentiful in Great Britain that an open season has been declared against them. There is one passage in the *Topographia* which has puzzled all commentators, including Du Cange. What are the 'ratulae vero raucae et clamosae infinitae'? The suggestion which I give was made by Ussher and Warren, but I arrived at it independently before consulting their book. This *ratula* is the water-rail (*Rallus aquaticus*) which answers the description perfectly and which is still very common today.

The crane (*Grus communis*) has not been observed in Ireland more than nine times in the nineteenth century; but Gerald says that he saw them in large numbers. It is possible that he confused the crane and the heron (*Ardea cinerea*), for the latter is very plentiful in the island. The story of the barnacle goose is familiar to all mediaevalists. Because this bird breeds in Greenland between May and September, its sudden presence in Ireland and Britain during the fall and winter was not understood. It was believed that this goose was generated spontaneously from sap exuding from marine driftwood. Gerald claimed to have seen with his own eyes minute budding specimens of this bird. (Until the late seventeenth century the distinction in form between adult and embryo was not appreciated; belief in spontaneous generation lasted until the nineteenth century.) This barnacle goose is commonly identified today with the *Bernicla leucopsis* which frequents the Irish marshes. But the description of the generation of the mediaeval barnacle goose fits more exactly another closely similar species, the Brent goose (*Bernicla brenta*), which is strictly *marine* in its habits. Again, Gerald says that the barnacle geese of his own observation were similar to the 'aucis palustribus.' I suggest on the strength of this that the Brent goose is the true barnacle and that the so-called barnacle of today is the 'auca palustris.' Gerald believed that bees also have spontaneous generation.

In the matter of *falconidae* Ireland now has the sparrow-hawk, the peregrine falcon, the merlin, and the kestrel. The hobby is a rare summer visitor; the osprey is an autumn visitor of more frequent occurrence. The goshawk is never found; but the golden eagle is still resident in the western counties. The kite is very rare indeed. Gerald implies that both the eagle and the kite were numerous in his time. He claims to have seen the osprey catch fish; but when he repeats the old tale of this bird's having one claw taloned and the other webbed we know that he was not familiar with an actual specimen. The dipper (*Cinclus aquaticus*), occasionally known as a kingfisher, sometimes as the water ouzel, was probably the *martineta* to which Gerald refers. His statement that it does not spoil when dead is doubtful on general principles, although we have not made the experiment. The carrion or black crow is lacking in Ireland today, but the hooded crow is plentiful. This is what Gerald says for his own time. He records how the hooded crow breaks shellfish by letting them fall upon a rock. This is also true of certain gulls. Today teal ducks are plentiful throughout the country, especially in Donegal. Gerald speaks of them ('cercellae') as being sacred to Saint Colman and found only on a small pond in Leinster.<sup>1</sup>

Gerald says that in 1185, the year of Hugh de Lacy's death, the ravens and owls had their young at Christmas.<sup>2</sup> It is true that the raven is one of the earliest birds to nest in Ireland, usually in February. Occasionally the long-eared owl is as early. Nesting in December would have been unusual but physically possible. Ravens, crows, and jackdaws are mentioned in the *Topographia* as congregating at Ravenna in Italy.<sup>3</sup>

In his three years' residence in Ireland our author must have had unusual opportunities for observing the mammals. It is here that he exhibits the most accuracy, from our modern point of view. His grievous error lies in genetics. Like most of his contemporaries, he believed in the possibilities of mating between man and cow, stag and cow, and of a goat or lion with the human female.<sup>4</sup> When a modern biologist is questioned on this matter he says that ordinarily there is no cross fertilization between natural species (this eliminates domestic breeds), but it is difficult to estimate the limits of possibility.

Gerald estimated that Ireland breeds nearly all the wild beasts to be found in Europe. In point of fact Europe has fifty-seven species of mammals of which Ireland has twenty-two.<sup>5</sup> The fat stags which Gerald noted must have been red deer. The fallow deer is not a native of the British Isles; presumably it was brought to Great Britain, but not to Ireland, by the Romans. The roe deer ('capreolae'), as Gerald says, have never been found in Ireland. The wild boar was plentiful there, as he testifies. It was hunted till 1683 in England, and it

<sup>1</sup> Distinction II, ch. 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, ch. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, ch. 28.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, II, chs. 21, 22, 23.

<sup>5</sup> The zoological literature on mammals is even more extensive than that on fish, birds, reptiles, and amphibians. We have used the following: W. L. and P. L. Sclater, *The Geography of Mammals* (London, 1899), *Cambr. Nat. Hist.*, vol. x: Mammals, by F. E. Beddard (London, 1920), *Mammals of other Lands*, in Nature Lover's Library (New York, 1917), and especially J. G. Millais, *The Mammals of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1904-1906, 3 vols.).

may have lasted longer in Ireland. Only the mountain hare of Scandinavia (*Lepus timidus*), a smaller and softer haired breed, has ever existed over the Irish countryside; the common European hare will not breed there. This was recognized by Gerald and he comments accurately upon the timid habits of this arctic hare. The pine marten is becoming rare in the British Isles today but in the twelfth century it may have been plentiful. Dormice have always been common in the British Isles. The badger (*Meles taxus*) is a nocturnal beast but it scarcely merits Gerald's epithet of 'immundum,' although it is certainly 'mordax.' It makes an attractive pet.

The *mustela*, which was the common mediaeval designation of *Putorius vulgaris*, must refer in the *Topographia* to the Irish stoat (*P. hibernicus*). As snakes are so rare in Ireland, the conflict between the *mustela* and snakes, which Gerald describes, must be a carryover from continental or British information. The legend of the herb<sup>1</sup> with which this animal restores its young to life is attractive, partly because of the appearance of this superstition in the *Eliduc* of Marie de France. It may go back to the habit which members of the weasel family have of carrying fern and grass for bedding for their cubs. The beaver exists in Wales and Scotland, says Gerald, but not in Ireland. This was doubtless true, although today the European beaver (*Castor fiber*) is extinct everywhere except in Scandinavia and in places on the Rhone and Danube rivers. The European mole has never been found in Ireland; this fact was known to Gerald.

'Mures infinitissimi,' wolves, and foxes are the three harmful beasts of Ireland says the *Topographia*. These 'mures' were probably the European black rat which has slowly been giving way before the brown rat (from China?). Mice, of course, have always been plentiful in the Old World. Foxes are common throughout Europe. The wolf was hunted in Ireland as late as 1770, in Scotland till 1743, and in England it was not driven out till the sixteenth century. This will explain the prevalence of werewolf legends of which Gerald retells an excellent one.<sup>2</sup> The *Bisclavret* of Marie de France and the *Melion* are other British examples of this theme.

Although it is our general conclusion that much of Gerald's information on fauna came to him second hand through inquiry, he shows exceptional curiosity and fondness for observation. In this he is far removed from the bestiary and is equal to Albert the Great at his best.<sup>3</sup> His knowledge of the mammals was doubtless increased by an interest in hunting, and the same may be said for his treatment of the birds. His errors were more frequent when he was concerned with the fish and the amphibians. He was certainly unjustified in noting the absence of the grassfrog and the natterjack toad; but this is compensated for by his actual observation of the true cicada. We should expect a mediaeval cleric to be well informed on fish, as this formed the staple diet for one day a week and sometimes more. But fish are difficult to distinguish without modern systems of classification, and the Latin words used were subject to confusion,

<sup>1</sup> Albert says they carry endive against poisoning (xxi, 11); see Bartholomew (xviii, 72).

<sup>2</sup> Distinction II, ch. 19.

<sup>3</sup> For Albert's observations on the ostrich see xxiii, 139; on the cicada, xxvi, 14.

for they were originally applied to the species of the Mediterranean sea.<sup>1</sup> We recommend to others the examination of animal species in the mediaeval forest protection lists, in the accounts of men who travelled in the Holy Land, such as Jacques de Vitry, and in other more informal writings. When this has been done our ideas on mediaeval zoölogy may need to be still further revised. We may find that neither the *Physiologus* of Alexandria, containing so much oral, fantastic material, nor the descendants of the ancient encyclopedias, formed the actual working knowledge in biology of the mediaeval man.<sup>2</sup>

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## THE ORIGIN OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH'S ESTRILDIS

By J. S. P. TATLOCK

ESTRILDIS as a personage in the legendary history of Britain is entirely Geoffrey of Monmouth's invention in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*. She has appeared many a time as Lochrine's paramour in later literature from the pseudo-Shakespearean sixteenth-century play to Swinburne's, though never in as exquisite poetry as her daughter Habren or Sabrina. There is some slight reason to surmise that Sabrina may have existed in earlier local tradition; Estrildis is merely an unusually clear example of Geoffrey's ingenious yet matter-of-fact archaizing of what he found in recent history. Her name, seemingly never occurring elsewhere as a woman's and rarely as a man's, may show some memory of the prominent Scandinavian feminine name *Astriðr*, *Estrith*, *Astridis*, which sometimes occurs in England too; possibly also of the fairly common Welsh name *Essyllt*. But there is another and quite certain origin, for not only her name but her story, in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*,<sup>3</sup> a work completed in 1125, only five or ten years before Geoffrey wrote, and certainly known to him.<sup>4</sup> William ostensibly introduces the matter for the sake of the final miracle, but begins with the rough and prolonged tale, half Homeric, of the woman's earlier adventures.

<sup>1</sup> Latin *halec* could mean either herring or anchovy, and perhaps pilchard (sardine). Rondelet says of the word: '... c'est un mot général de tout petit poisson de nul pris, ou qui est en saumure' (*ed. cit.* p. 183).

<sup>2</sup> Several doctoral dissertations prepared at Heidelberg have studied the fish and insect names in Anglo-Saxon. This is a type of study that should give interesting results in other individual languages.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 412-415; well edited by N. E. S. A. Hamilton (Rolls Series, 1870). There are no clear verbal resemblances, such not being usual with Geoffrey in his less avowed borrowings. *Estrildis* is in *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, II, 2-5.

<sup>4</sup> *H. R. B.*, IV, 17, shows an unmistakable reminiscence of *G. P.*, p. 209. Geoffrey's Marius in Westmorland 'erexit lapidem in signum triumphi sui . . . in quo inscriptus titulus . . .'; in Cumberland, the same region, 'scripturaque legitur in fronte triclinii: "Marii Victoriae."' Marius as eponym of Westmorland, and the boastful stone, appear nowhere earlier. Geoffrey shows other probable borrowings from the *Gesta Pontificum*.

Her name was Elfeldis, either the English Ælfhild or the Scandinavian Alfhild,<sup>1</sup> and its resemblance to Estrildis, especially in mediaeval handwriting, is too close to be accidental. During an invasion early in the eleventh century this well-born and beautiful English girl was given to a Norwegian earl as booty, who carried her off to Norway, was for abandoning his own wife and marrying her, but finally ravished her and shortly after died. The king of Norway (who would be St Olaf, though William does not say so) hears of her beauty, tries to seduce her, and also ravishes her; 'omnia clam uxore, quam ne incenderet verebatur quam maxime.' Elfeldis, though also afraid of the jealousy of the queen — 'zelotipiam reginae cavebat' — becomes reconciled to the amour, and the lovers continue for a time to meet, 'ut reginae notitiam falleret,' at the house of a certain bishop. After the king's death, 'non nesciens quantum mulierum ira in pelices audeat,' Elfeldis deserts her small son, with the bishop's help flees to the most distant parts of Norway, and at last reaches England. For the rest, this son Magnus is made king, but dies within a year and a half; Elfeldis, stricken with paralysis for breaking a vow to eat no meat, after three years is cured by the relics of St Aldhelm, becomes a nun at Malmesbury, and is there buried; her grave in the cloister was one of the sights of the place.

A decision as to the truth in this century-old tradition at Malmesbury is not essential here. It is probably near enough to the ways of the early Norse — kings, bishops, and all; and the popular canonization of Olaf shortly after his death, finally confirmed in Rome, was due probably to gratitude for his unification of Norway, reestablishment of Christianity, and heroic death, hardly to any great mildness or asceticism. What is slightly more to the point is the unquestioned accuracy of a part of the story. St Olaf really had in secret a beautiful and well-born mistress named Alfhildr, Alfhildis, as is admitted with regret by Peter Bosch, his modern biographer in the *Acta Sanctorum*, a mistress who in 1024 bore him a son Magnus, his successor after some years, reigning from 1035 to 1047; we even hear in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, though two centuries later, of Magnus' troubles when king with the jealousy of his stepmother Astriðr (also not named by William) toward his mother.<sup>2</sup> The historians say nothing of the girl's English origin, and directly contradict William in showing the king as long surviving, and Magnus too as surviving and reigning for years, with his mother at his court. William no doubt in true monastic fashion also dressed up

<sup>1</sup> Ælfhild is common enough in W. G. Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897); Alfhildr commoner in E. H. Lind's *Norsk-Islandska Dopnamn ock fingerade Namn från Medeltiden* (Upsala, 1905-15).

<sup>2</sup> *Acta SS.* (29 July), xxxiv, 113; Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg. Eccl. Pont.*, II, 74, in *MGH.*, SS., VII, 332; the Icelandic *Historia Magni Boni Regis*, in *MGH.*, SS., xxix, 397-398; *Heimskringla*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1911), St Olaf, cap. 122, Magnus, cap. 7, pp. 299, 425; (the next four sometimes the same as some of the above) *Fornmanna Sögur* (Copenhagen, 1825-37), IV, 273-274, VI, 57, 59, 222, 231; *Codex Frisianus and Olafa Saga hins helga* (both in Norske historiske Kjelde-skriftfondet publications, IX, 172, 174, XLVII, 42); *Fagskiinna* (ed. Munch and Unger, Christiania, 1847), p. 88; one or two other early texts mentioned in Lind's *Dopnamn*; C. F. Bricka, *Dansk Biografisk Lexicon* (Copenhagen, 1887-), XI, 44; P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie* (Christiania, 1852-), I, II, 664-666. William does not mention the queen's name; but the fact that *Estrildis* looks like a combination of *Elfeldis* and *Astriðr* makes one fancy Geoffrey knew it.



the story for edification; he appears shocked by it, though he spares no detail. Perhaps in order to save the credit of the cloth, he pointedly says that for their amorous meetings the king took the girl away from her hiding-place with the bishop and perhaps in order to promote piety, he intimates that the girl had devoted her virginity to God and he omits the name of the canonized lover, whose cult was flourishing in England. An experienced reader will recognize some of the story as familiar trimming. We shall never know whether Olaf's mistress really did arrive at Malmesbury for a time, and the true part of the story became overlaid by the monks, or whether the woman who arrived was a romancing adventuress.

What is important is that even if the names Elfeldis and Estrildis were not so nearly identical, and the other woman in William's tale had not the intermediate name *Astriðr*, and the *Gesta Pontificum* had not been known to Geoffrey, no one could miss the closeness of this story to that of his Estrildis, another high-born beauty who was carried off by invaders (though to England, not from it), whose lover wished to marry her but was prevented, who suffered from his jealous wife, bore him a child, carried on the amour for years in great secrecy (though in a chamber underground, not an episcopal residence), and, owing to the death of her lover and the character of his wife, ended disastrously. The determined Guendoloena, Lochrine's queen, is assuredly a good understudy to Olaf's formidable queen looming in the background; the slighted wife is really the most impressive figure in both tales, and it is hardly too much to say that Guendoloena owes as much to *Astriðr* as Estrildis to Elfeldis. Geoffrey's habitual dramatic instinct is extraordinary. One hardly knows whether to suggest (without considering a possible reminiscence of Numa and Egeria in Livy) that Olaf's amorous visits to the bishop's house are reflected in Lochrinus' pretense that his visits to the cavern were for sacrifices to his gods.

This tale, so traceable and standing so early in the *Historia*, is highly significant as to Geoffrey's methods and motives. Estrildis' name, though not found for a woman elsewhere and not instantly identifiable, has a generally familiar air and an easy form. The tale also is so altered as to be no mere dullard's copy; shows less of rhetorical professionalism, more refinement, much more of the dramatic and a little more romantic imagination than the other, and is fitted to early pagan times. But it is just as reasonable and as well motivated. What is most significant of all is this. Geoffrey borrowed the tale from a contemporary and very well-known author and a well-known work. Of the *Gesta Pontificum* its best editor lists no less than twenty-five manuscripts, nearly as many as those of the *Gesta Regum* listed by its editor,<sup>1</sup> and seven or more of the twenty-five date from the twelfth century. William of Malmesbury himself, as will be remembered, is addressed by Geoffrey in the last sentence of the *Historia*, and bidden to say nothing of the kings of the Britons since he has not the British book which Geoffrey has used as his original. It is a curious example of Geoffrey's assurance to put this admonition to William at the end of the very work at the beginning of which he had filched from William himself to make his own picture of the

<sup>1</sup> Respectively pp. xx ff., and pp. lxvi f. (Rolls Series).

kings of the Britons more entertaining. Geoffrey has a light air of defiance. Borrowing Elfeldis' story in his sensational new creation the *Historia*, what simpler expedient for throwing dust in the eyes could he have found had he wished than adopting a wholly new name, instead of only slightly altering the old one? The guess that he forgot whence he had taken the tale would not be plausible. Here, as again and again elsewhere, he secured a lifelike air through recalling recent conditions by the use of suggestive names and paralleled incidents; yet usually so evasively that his borrowings except from avowed sources can seldom be so positively proved as here. But since William and other alert and informed readers could hardly fail to recognize or strongly suspect the reappearance of Elfeldis and her story in Estrildis and hers, it seems impossible that Geoffrey was trying very hard to deceive people. It is less accurate to say that his contemporaries were credulous than that they were less ready than we to raise the question of truth or fiction. History and story had not yet made their declaration of mutual independence, — if they have now.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

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## BRAGGART, DEVIL, AND 'VICE'

### A NOTE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMIC FIGURES IN THE EARLY ENGLISH DRAMA

By ROBERT WITHINGTON

WHEN I called attention to the influence of the folk-play fool on the comic figure of the Morality 'Vice,' — an influence which the late Mr Tiddy had already suggested — I did not mean to imply that the Fool, through the Devil of the Corpus Christi plays, was the only ancestor of this important character.<sup>1</sup> Undoubtedly the type persists in life, not only through the Middle Ages, but to more modern days; and yet it has another literary ancestor, to which our attention has recently been drawn. Professor Howard R. Patch is quite right in finding that Dr Owst 'goes too far in at least seeming to believe that the sermons can explain every mediaeval development,' though he reminds us that 'it is true that the homilies have been grossly neglected,' and notes that 'it is good to have a student of Dr Owst's enthusiasm for his subject challenge old conceptions and set his evidence lavishly before us.' If Dr Owst 'has yet to indicate adequately the ethical importance and literary quality of this vast amount of material in the history of the mediaeval Church's attempt to keep religion and morals together,' he undoubtedly feels that the pulpit popularized the material, and that, where there is a question as to whether the dramatist (clerical or lay) found his source in sermon or in the sources of the sermon, the chances are that it was in the former, which was more accessible.

<sup>1</sup> See 'The Ancestry of the "Vice"' (SPECULUM, VII [October 1932], 525-529). Professor Patch's review of Owst's *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, from which I quote, appeared in SPECULUM for April, 1934, p. 233 ff.

Elements of realism, of satire, of personification, of allegorical interpretation, of the 'character' — used by sermonizers until much later times, as the means of vivifying the moral lessons they wished to teach; and by lay moralizers and satirists in the seventeenth century—indeed, to our own times—are, as Dr Owst points out, to be found in the mediaeval sermon. Perhaps Cain, in the Wakefield *Killing of Abel*, is a 'pulpit type' — 'the preachers' portrait of the bad husbandman' — as Owst says (p. 492); could not the dramatist, as well as the preacher, have seen him in real life? Surely Pikeharness, whose rustic clowning goes far to make the picture of Cain's life realistic, might have been taken out of the fields of Yorkshire. The allegory in the Norwich *Creation of Eve*, where Dolor and Misery accompany Adam and Eve out of Paradise, while the Holy Ghost explains to them (and to the audience) the means of their redemption in spiritual allegory from the Scriptures, may have been derived from homilies — but could it not also show the influence of the Moralities on a late Miracle-play? of the later type on a late specimen of the earlier type?

Dr Owst helps to throw light on the source of allegory in the Morality-plays, but one may wonder whether the answer to some of our questions is as simple as he would make it. About the time that this form of drama arose, we find allegorical 'royal-entries,' and these may have had their share in suggesting to the dramatists (lay or clerical) the practicability on the stage of a form common in homilies and other literature. The Seven Deadly Sins, and their servant the Vice, may have come to the drama from the homily, but undoubtedly they derived certain characteristics from the life of the times, and it is not impossible that the stage types influenced in turn the homilist. The Devil was not, as Dr Whitmore points out,<sup>1</sup> a comic figure as long as he was seriously regarded. 'Many traits in the mediaeval devils which may appear wholly amusing to us were so only in part to the spectators of the miracle-plays; and we must beware,' he continues, 'of overlooking this more serious aspect.' But the minor devils were undoubtedly comic, because less feared, and it is with them that the audiences who heard the Moralities connected the Vice, who was himself under the control of either the Seven Deadly Sins, or of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil.

The connection between the Devil and the Vice seems clear, inasmuch as the name Tutivillus ('all vile') of the Towneley *Judithum* forecasts Titivillus in *Mankind*, who represents the Devil as New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought represent the World.<sup>2</sup> In Mercy's epilogue, the speaker tells us that 'Titiuilly synagnyfes the fend of helle' (line 879). Owst (p. 513) finds Tityvillus in various mediaeval homilies, one of the favorite devils 'mentioned by their nick-names in

<sup>1</sup> Charles E. Whitmore, *The Supernatural in Tragedy* (1915), p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Manly inserts, after line 467, a stage-direction: 'Enter Titivillus horribly arrayed like a devil, with a net in his hand,' (cf. the EETS edition of the *Macro Plays*, and Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, p. 314). In A. W. Pollard's introduction to the EETS edition of the *Macro Plays* (section 2, p. xv ff.), Titivillus is called a 'superior Devil' — a 'principal devil' (p. xii). Perhaps Mischief is here the regular Vice, but Titivillus has many characteristics of the type. New-Guise, Now-a-days, and Nought are regarded by Mr Pollard as 'young devils' (p. xiv) and 'smaller devils' (p. xvi). In Matthew Merygreke's introduction of himself (*R.R.D.*, 1, 1), he names Tom Titivile as one of his friends.

English pulpits from the thirteenth century onwards,' (p. 512) and observes many similarities between the dialogue of the Towneley Tutivillus and the sermons (p. 520).<sup>1</sup>

Sings the Clown in *Twelfth Night* (IV, ii):

I am gone, sir,  
And anon, sir,  
I'll be with you again,  
In a trice,  
Like to the old Vice,  
Your need to sustain;

Who, with dagger of lath,  
In his rage and his wrath,  
Cries, ah, ha! to the devil:

summoning to the memory of the Elizabethan audience a figure who cannot have been very far in the background, and who suggests a combination of the roguish buffoon with the villain foiled, whose impotent rage (Herod, Pilate, etc.) links him with the *miles gloriosus*, and perhaps with the 'ruffler' of the folk-play. In mediaeval sermons Owst (p. 116) finds ' "Pylat" is Herod's "lefetenant, undyr hym, of all his lond of Jury";' and maintains (p. 493) that the 'feudal tyrant of the day' whom we find in the New Testament plays is derived from the homilies.<sup>2</sup> This became a comic figure, lacking the sympathy of the audience, who were delighted to see his machinations come to nought, as they found his powerless anger amusing as well as satisfying. That in many plays, the devils produced this kind of satisfaction is indubitable; and in real life, an angry man has always been provocative of mirth, if one does not fear him, or share his anger. The boastfulness of such a hero as Beowulf is not funny, when it can be backed up by deeds; but when boastfulness is empty, it evokes laughter.

Another historian, Mr Roscoe E. Parker, has found the essential characteristics of Herod in the Apocrypha and the writings of the Church Fathers, and notes that they were well established in the mediaeval mind and in the liturgical drama long before the development of the mystery cycles.<sup>3</sup> A connection be-

<sup>1</sup> On p. 526, Owst notes: '. . . In discussing the development of Allegory in the sermons, we found that even such picturesque dramatic features of the Moralities as the Besieged Castle, the Vices personified, and the Disputation of the Four Heavenly Virtues were commonplaces of the former: likewise, yet more recently, in the case of friend Tutivillus and his companions of the Towneley Cycle.' I do not see that he admits the possibility of an influence from the Fool of the folk-play on this figure, in either Miracle or Morality. And there were doubtless roguish jokers in life.

<sup>2</sup> Herod 'is further the "grett fflowe" "among grett men and lordes" of the country, whom we saw [pp. 308-12] haughty and disdainful towards his inferiors, bitterly jealous of any possible rival, mean and oppressive to his subjects, a terror to his servants, much given to "braggyng" and "bostyng," a blasphemous swearer, laughing at the thought of his own cruelty and expecting those who stand around him to sing his praises and flatter him for ever' (Owst, p. 494). 'The figure of Pilate we recognize next as our old friend of the Civil Courts, the unjust Judge' (*ibid.*, p. 495).

<sup>3</sup> Roscoe E. Parker, 'The Reputation of Herod in Early English Literature,' *SPECULUM*, VIII (January, 1933) 59-67. He finds that 'these characteristics were elaborated in the secularized mystery plays and in the popular pulpit by analogy with unpopular officials, "roryng" . . . dewels," and pagan prototypes; that Herod was traditionally conceived as a boaster and a braggart and was so

tween the fully-developed dramatic figure and the character-sketch of the sermon is suggested by Professor Karl Young, who finds that the York *Pater Noster* 'presented the merits (*utilitas*) of the Lord's Prayer, and in it the vices and sins (*vicia et peccata*) were denounced (*reprobantur*), and the virtues (*virtutes*) were commended (*commendantur*).'<sup>1</sup> It is only a step, on the stage, from talking about the Vices to showing them, and this step had of necessity been taken in the figure of Herod, who had already appeared in the liturgical drama.<sup>2</sup>

If, then, the Vice, and his prototype the Devil, derive certain characteristics from the Fool and the 'Ruffler' of the folk-play, who, of course, were familiar figures to the audiences and the playwrights of the Middle Ages, it seems also possible to find influences from the sermon-literature of the times. But we must be careful not to deny to the playwrights a certain amount of originality, of power of observation, of dramatic feeling. That the life of the times played a large part in the dramatic development then, as it does now, cannot be denied; there is a danger in deriving the Wife of Bath and the Wife of Noah exclusively from homilies. The Shepherds in the *Secunda Pastorum* are carefully characterized, and the Nativity theme is linked with a folk-tale to add an element of vividness — to make the scene live for the contemporary audiences. It is only fair to add that Owst recognizes the 'genius' of the author of the Towneley Cycle (p. 504), but if he 'has more of satire in him than pity,' it is not necessary to assume that he merely echoes the 'satire and complaint' of the homily. Even if the playwright were, as Owst thinks, himself only the homilist, we feel that he knew Coll, Gyb, Daw, Gyll and Mak in real life, and perhaps also Parkyn, and Gybon Waller, and 'gentill Iohn Horne, in good fay.' So may the playwright have known braggarts in real life, and boasters; he may have known fools and rogues; he knew witty and stupid servants; he did not have to call on literary and

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presented throughout the history of the religious drama; but that the evidence for the statements generally made by Shakespearean editors in explanation of Hamlet's advice to the players is confined to the *Herodes* tradition which is represented in England by a single play, *The Pageant of the Shearmen and Taylors* (p. 67).

<sup>1</sup> Karl Young, 'Records of the York Play of the *Pater Noster*,' *SPECULUM*, VII (October, 1932, pp. 540-546), p. 543. On p. 545, he remarks: 'One should observe that in the neighboring town of Beverley the *Pater Noster* play included eight separate *pagendae*, and that the responsibility for each *pagenda* was assumed, not by one gild or association, but by several in coöperation. Thus in producing the single "pagenda de Viciose" the Merchants were aided by the "gentilmen, clerici, et vadletti."' Cf. also Owst, p. 542.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, pp. 32 ff., esp. p. 38. W. Roy Mackenzie, *The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory* (1914), notes (pp. 268 ff.) the public's love for the moral and religious instruction imparted in the Moralities by the representatives of the virtues (with which may be compared the enthusiastic applause which greeted the lofty sentiments expressed by the heroes of more modern melodrama); the poetic homilies established in literary form before the days of the Morality, many of them popular, and the practice, established by the Miracle plays, of giving religious instruction through the medium of the drama. If the Moralities continued the tradition of both poetry and drama, we may also add the sermon, which, like poetry, continued to supplement the fifteenth-century stage. The importance of the public in the development of the drama has been noted by Professor G. F. Reynolds in 'Literature for an Audience' (*S.P., Royster Memorial Studies* [1931] pp. 278 ff.).

homiletic models, though these may have helped him, and helped his audiences to recognize the types he produced.

In *Mary Magdalene* (*Digby MS. 133*; cf. Adams, pp. 225 ff.), we find a braggart Satan, whose ranting, upon the rescue of Mary, recalls that of Herod, in the same play, when he hears from the 'philosophers' that

a myty duke xal rese and reyn,  
Whych xall reyn and rewle all Israell.

Cries the tyrant,

A, owt! owt! now am [I] grevyd all with the worst!  
Ye dastardus! ye dogges! the dylfe mote yow draw!  
(*Line 186 ff.*)

Later Satan, angered at the escape of Mary, exclaims:

A, owt! owt! and harrow! I am hampord with hate!  
In hast wyl I set on iugment to se!  
With thes betyll-browyd bycheys I am at debate.  
How! Belfagour, and Belzabub! com vp here to me!  
(*Line 722 ff.*)

echoing the figure in the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors' *Magi* (cf. Adams, p. 163) who rages in the pageant and in the street also:

owt! owt! owtt!  
Hath those fawls traytvrs done me this ded?  
I stampe! I stare! I loke all abowtt! . . .  
I rent! I rawe! and now run I wode!

As types, Herod and the Devil are not far apart,<sup>1</sup> and the audience undoubtedly connected them. A technique of acting must have grown up, too, in which tricks used in one rôle were borrowed by those who represented the other character. We must not forget that the dramatist did not work alone.

Another influence in the development of the characters in the early plays, which scholars have perhaps not sufficiently stressed, is that of the actors, who doubtless gave a vividness and vitality to the creations of the dramatists, which the text does not often reflect. At the end of the Hegge (or 'N. town') *Trial of Christ*, we find the following stage-direction: 'Here enteryth Satan in-to the place in the most orryble wyse; and qwyl that he pleyth, thei xal don on Jhesus clothis and ouerest a whyte clothe, and leden hym ab-owth the place, and than to Pylat . . .' Satan's 'playing' was left to the actor, apparently, with such hints as are suggested by his 'most horrible wise,' and we may assume that then, as now, the reaction of the audience to his efforts stimulated the actor to further creative accomplishments. When strolling bands of players produced these plays without any guild subsidy, the desire for a large collection as the hat was passed among the spectators who had gathered for the show, was not without its influence on the players' technique; the actors, as well as the dramatist, had an incentive to please the public, the latter being more intent than the former on instructing it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the anger of the Devil, the Flesh, and the World when Mankind escapes them, in *The Castle of Perseverance*, ll. 1768 ff.

We may, then, safely assume that the development of the characters who are not carefully outlined in the Scriptural source was chiefly left to the actors, with such guides as the dialogue may furnish; and that the players were perhaps more susceptible to influences from the life of the times than the dramatists, though the latter (like their more modern confrères) were not unconscious of contemporary figures. Frequently in the dialogue are evidences of anachronisms which paradoxically add to the verisimilitude of the scenes; and if the dramatist made a personified Vice or Virtue vivid, the actor made him vital.

The more humorous the devils became, the less the supernatural was stressed, and when the Moralities took the stage, there was little to suggest this element, even in connection with the Deadly Sins. The less abstract these became, the more effective they were, as conductors of the moral lesson; but their connection with the Devil was never wholly forgotten.<sup>1</sup> Iniquity, in the *Nice Wanton*, is called a 'hell-hound,' although through most of the play he is rather a knave or evil-liver of contemporary England. Close as the pulpit and the stage have always been, the actors' art was developed when the cast was not made up of clerics, and it was in the non-Biblical characters that the dramatic instinct of the players had free rein. This accounts quite as much as the homilies for the growth of a comedy of manners, in *Uxor Noë* and the shepherds of the *Secunda Pastorum*, for the capers of the minor devils, and the human rascality of the Vice; an element of horse-play is found in the Fool of the folk-drama, and this undoubtedly influenced the actors on the more 'legitimate' stage.

We may find the ancestor of the Vice, and his forerunner, the Devil, not only in the Fool, but in the character of the Devil drawn by the homilist — who may, in turn, have drawn on folk-lore<sup>2</sup> — and in the life of the times. Unpopular officials were not unknown to homilist and actor; but it was the latter who emphasized their comic possibilities. The antics of the 'rollicking, human type of demon, this Mephistopheles of the market-place,' as Owst calls him, point the way to the later Clown, and were the gift of the lay actor to the mediaeval stage

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## A NOTE ON THE NAMES OF GLASTONBURY

By CLARK H. SLOVER

THE Glastonbury tradition is surrounded by traps for the unwary, and since Mr L. H. Gray in his recent article on Glastonbury names<sup>3</sup> has been unfortunate enough to fall into some of the worst ones, it seems only proper, in the interest of historical accuracy, to offer the following corrections.

<sup>1</sup> Nichol Newfangle (the Vice in *Like Will to Like*: pr. 1568) is the embodiment of sin in general; although he represents in a special way the fashionable, or newfangled, vices of the day, he is the apprentice of Lucifer, and suggests comparison with New-gyse in *Mankind* (c. 1475).

<sup>2</sup> Among the names of devils familiarly referred to in sermons, Dr Owst cites (pp. 512-513, and notes): Colewin, Pokerellus, Drawsheet, and on the continent, Clocuer, Cloboche, Cloborse, and Obturans-aures-et-oculos. Cf. also pp. 394, 412, and *Preaching in Medieval England*, pp. 175-176. 'Thus does pixie-land re-invade the churches. . .'

<sup>3</sup> *SPECULUM*, x (1935), 46-53.

1. Page 46: 'The most detailed story, and by far the best, is given by William of Malmesbury (died *ca* 1143).' — No reason is given for saying that William's account of the names of Glastonbury is by far the best. Furthermore, in giving the death-date of William as a *terminus ad quem* for this passage, Mr Gray has unwittingly stepped into disputed territory. If, as I have maintained,<sup>1</sup> the passage was written by William himself, the date is 1129–35. If the passage is an interpolation, as Newell<sup>2</sup> and Faral<sup>3</sup> have both argued, the date is much later. In either case William's obit has no bearing on the date.

2. Page 46: 'Here [in William's *De antiquitate*] again the earliest name is Ineswitrin.' — The form which Mr Gray has just cited is Yniswitrin.

3. Page 46, note 1: 'Glastonia implies an Anglo-Saxon \**Glaestún*.' — This statement is not supported by the facts. The status of Glastonia was pointed out forty years ago by Baist: 'Bei Kemble, Anglo-Saxon Charters, ist vor dem 11. Jh. *Glastonia* belegt nur in dem sicher gefälschten grossen Privileg Inis No. 73, in No. 400 s.a. 944 und 567 s.a. 971. . . . Ohne daraufhin jene beiden Urkunden geradezu als unecht zu betrachten, dürfen wir jedenfalls *Glasting* als die ältere Form bezeichnen; sie erscheint auch allein mit dem altertümlichen *-biry- = bury* verbunden. *Glaston* entsteht daraus durch Labialisierung des unbetonten Vokals, *-imb* zu *omb*, mit schriftsprachlicher Umdeutung auf das häufige *-ton = town*.'<sup>4</sup>

4. Page 47: 'The Anglo-Saxon form of the name was *Glaestingaburh*.' — In support of this statement there appears a quotation from the *ASChron* in which the name is *Glaestingabyrig!* A casual scanning of Kemble's collection of charters shows that 'the Anglo-Saxon form' was also *Glaestingaea*, *Glasteie*, *Glaestingaburi*, *Glaestingei*, *Glaestingaburuh*, and *Glaestingbiri*.

5. Page 48: 'The oldest appellation [of Glastonbury], however, was obviously Iniswitrin, which implies a Gaulish \**inissis Vitriini* (or *Vitriina*), and which must date from the Gaulish period because of the retention of initial *v*.' — This is a baffling statement. Iniswitrin is not in question, for it appears in no text. We have only *-witrin*, *-witherim*, *-gutrin*, *-gwitrin*, etc.; no *-vitrin*. Hence initial *v* is not retained. Any argument based on its retention is fallacious, and no amount of data on Celtic sound-changes can prevent its collapse.

6. Page 48: '. . . it seems best, on the whole, to regard it [the second part of the name] as . . . the genitive singular of a proper name \**Vitriinos*, i.e., "island (or peninsula) of Vitrin".' Just why we are offered, after all these years, the alternative of 'peninsula' for 'island' as applied to Glastonbury, it is difficult to discern. As for its seeming best to say that Iniswitrin means 'island of Vitrin,' one can only remark that however good it may seem to the author it does not appeal with the same force to the critical reader. Granted that *inis* is 'island' and *witrin* is 'green'; and granted, furthermore, that a person named Witrin in the twelfth century would have been called *Vitriinos* in the fifth, we must nevertheless recall that no such name is cited, either early or late, and without it we cannot logically accept the dubious substitution of Green's Island for Green Island.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, II (1927), 275–280.

<sup>2</sup> *PMLA*, XVIII (1903), 474–478.

<sup>3</sup> *La légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929), II, 421 ff.; see also the reconstructed text, I, 301 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *ZRP*, XIX (1895), 335, note 1.



7. Pages 49-50: In this passage the date of Glast's arrival at Glastonbury is computed by building up comparative pedigrees based on material from the *Historia Brittonum* and William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate*. The computation is valueless, however, for Mr Gray fails to understand the nature and development of the much-discussed passage about Glast in William's tract,<sup>1</sup> and he mistranslates the words *proavus* and *atavus*. He seems, furthermore, to be unaware that there exist actual pedigrees<sup>2</sup> which give at first hand the information which he so laboriously restores. It was a set of these very genealogies that William had before him as he compiled his *De antiquitate*.

Bringing Glass mac Caiss into this pedigree is another unfortunate slip. Cormac's *Glossary* does localize a swineherd of that name at Glastonbury, but he is an Irish character plucked from the tradition of St Patrick, and Glastonbury owes its knowledge of this character not to Cormac's *Glossary*, but to a late Latin *Vita S. Patricii*,<sup>3</sup> which contains no mention of Glass's connection with England. As for the passage in the *Glossary*, I have already pointed out certain reasons for regarding it as an interpolation,<sup>4</sup> and will add here that it shows indications of having been brought into the text as an addendum to the tradition of Patrick's burial at Glastonbury. In any case Glass mac Caiss has at most only a literary connection with the Glast of the Harleian pedigree.

8. Page 51: 'One may go even further and suggest that the synonymous names \*Vitrinos and \*Glastos refer to one and the same individual.' — This suggestion, unfortunately, is based on the following very insecure premises: Glast founded Glastonbury (not granted); he founded it about 500 (not granted); the earlier name of Glastonbury was Inisvitrin (not granted); Iniswitrin is based on the personal name \*Vitrinos (not granted); Celts were often called by two different names (granted but irrelevant).

9. Page 51: In the summary paragraph are included a number of statements which add nothing to the argument and which help most unfortunately to perpetuate certain misconceptions of Glastonbury history.

(a) Glastonbury was called 'Avallonia (or, rather, Aballonia, "Apple[-place]"') in 500 when 'Vitrinos Glast' arrived. — No text before William's *DA* (1129-35) uses the name *Avallonia*. If it had been called the equivalent of Apple[-place] in 500, the form would have been *Aballo*, rather than *Avallonia*, which is a Latinized form of French *Avalon*.<sup>5</sup>

(b) Glastonbury was 'already famous as a British Elysium [in 500].' This statement is, to say the least, open to serious question. If it is to be included at all it should have the sanction of some authority other than MacCulloch's *Celtic Mythology*.

<sup>1</sup> See the discussions by Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 333; Baist, *ZRP*, XIX (1895), 326-347; Thurneysen, *ibid.*, XX (1896), 316-321; Lot, *Romania*, XXVII (1898), 530 ff. See also my summary and discussion, *SPECULUM*, II (1927), 275 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Egerton Phillimore in *Y Cymmrodor*, IX (1888), 169 ff. See also the discussion by E. W. B. Nicholson, 'The Dynasty of Cunedag and the "Harleian Genealogies";' *Y Cymmrodor*, XXI (1908), 63 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See my discussion in *Mod. Phil.*, XXIV (1926), 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *SPECULUM*, II (1927), 271, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See my study of this word, *Mod. Phil.*, XXVIII (1931), 395-399.

(c) Glastonbury was 'intimately associated with the Arthurian cycle [in 500].' — This is certainly wrong. King Arthur is first mentioned in the *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae*, and the earliest hint of his connection with Glastonbury is in William of Malmesbury's *DA* (1129-35). The idea of an *Arthurian Cycle* in 500 is, of course, preposterous.

(d) Glastonbury was a 'renowned centre of Christianity [in 500].' — It is not impossible that there was some sort of ecclesiastical settlement at Glastonbury before 600, but if we are to depend on historical evidence we can hardly go behind the apparently genuine charter of Worgret,<sup>1</sup> dated 601. As for renown, Glastonbury is not mentioned by Bede (writing in 731). The letter of Wihbert (cited by Mr Gray, p. 46, note 1, in a different connection) shows that Glastonbury was sending members of its community to the Continent as missionaries in the early eighth century, a fact which testifies to the abbey's useful activity. We cannot speak of its renown before that period, however, unless we accept the notoriously fabulous stories of its early association with Joseph of Arimathea, Phaganus and Deruvianus, King Lucius, St Patrick, and King Arthur.

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## PETER OF ABANO AND THE INQUISITION

By LYNN THORNDIKE

FURTHER light<sup>2</sup> is perhaps shed on the vexed question of the relations with the Inquisition of Peter of Abano, the famous physician and professor at Padua, by a passage in *De rerum praenotione*<sup>3</sup> of Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, nephew of the more noted Pico. Writing about 1502<sup>4</sup> and alluding to the popular belief that the Conciliator (i.e., Peter of Abano) had commanded the services of demons, Francesco affirms that he had seen the records of the procedure by the inquisitor of heretical depravity against Peter when he was accused of impiety. Among the charges was that he denied the existence of demons and believed that there was no place for them in nature. He defended himself from this charge by citing two of his students as witnesses that when in Constantinople he had visited a woman said to be proficient in necromancy in order to learn certain hidden matters, which he would not have done had he had no faith in necromancy and demons. In Francesco's opinion it further showed that Peter was no

<sup>1</sup> *DA*, ed. Hearne, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> I have previously discussed the matter in 'Relations of the Inquisition to Peter of Abano and Cecco d'Ascoli,' *SPECULUM*, I (1926), 338-343; and in *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II (Macmillan, 1923), 938-947; IV (Columbia University Press, 1934), 318-321.

<sup>3</sup> *Opera omnia Ioannis Francisci Pici*, Basileae ex officina Henricpetrina, II (1573), 493-494 (Bik. IV, cap. 9).

<sup>4</sup> In the following fifth book against astrology he states that it is now eight years since his uncle's death.

necromancer himself, although given to other superstitions,<sup>1</sup> as he takes occasion to show in various other passages of *De rerum praenotione*. The question remains whether we are to accept Francesco's statement as reliable and whether the inquisitorial records which he had seen two centuries after the event were genuine.

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<sup>1</sup> The Latin of the passage reads, correcting somewhat the punctuation in the 1573 edition: 'Circumfertur enim de Petro Aponensi quem Conciliatorem dicunt quod demonibus imperitabat; ipse autem acta in eum vidi ab inquisitore hereticae pravitatis formata, cum impietatis esset accusatus, inter que opponebatur quod demones esse negabat nec ullo pacto in rerum reperire natura credebat. Respondebat autem uti in ipsis quaestionibus legebatur quo se ab hoc crimine expurgaret fuisse olim se dum esset Constantinopoli ad foeminam quae hac ipsa Necromantia pollere credebatur, ut de occultis quibusdam sciscitaretur, duosque discipulos suos citabat testes, subdens consonum videri se non interrogasse nisi credidisset. Quantum ergo distat ut Necromantes fuerit qui contrariorum vitorum habitus sit et mulierculam etiam de rebus arcanis consuluerit! Superstitionibus aliis deditus sane fuit Aponensis tametsi Necromantiae non vacaverit, ut nobis ostendetur cum adversus Magiam septimo libro disputabimus quo et hoc ipsum criminis spectat.'

## REVIEWS

W. ANDREAS, *Deutschland vor der Reformation. Eine Zeitenwende. Zweite Auflage.* Stuttgart, Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1934. 647 pp.

THE first edition of this work appeared in 1932 and the second in 1934, exactly one year after the Nazis came to power. Professor Andreas has made few changes in the second edition, for none were needed, since the author frankly writes as a German patriot, though not as a Nazi.

This is an unusually interesting book. There are no footnotes and no scholarly paraphernalia; fourteen pages of brief bibliographical notices are appended at the end. The narrative is fluent, simple, not much burdened by facts or proofs. 'I am writing,' the author tells, 'popular history which should appeal not merely to scholars but also to all those who have the German fate at heart.' This is the keynote of the book, for Professor Andreas is profoundly impressed by the misfortune of his fatherland. He feels, not unjustly, that a generation that has gone through the calamities of the World War and the post-war period must understand and sympathize with that other great catastrophe, the Reformation: 'one of the greatest convulsions of our history.' He therefore approaches the subject from the point of view of a post-war German patriot who 'in the collapse of the nation has never given up hope that in the destruction there is also a promise of a new life.' Thus he portrays the era preceding the Reformation with 'innermost participation and awe.' Just as the pre-Reformation period led to Luther and, eventually, to the Thirty Years' War, so the post-war epoch found its climax in the Totalitarian State. 'In order to win once more our lost freedom and self-determination, our nation needs an inner renewal together with the strengthening of the power of the state' (p. 6).

Nevertheless, Professor Andreas is too good a scholar to write mere propaganda. The book is a true *Kulturbild*, written with remarkable lucidity. Unlike most German histories, the style is direct and colorful; there is a decent interval between subject and verb, and many sentences are brief and to the point. Sometimes Professor Andreas writes like a first-rate literary artist; his pen-portrait of Maximilian I, for example, is a little gem (p. 230 f.). The author wastes little space on arid dynasticism and futile political conflicts. His chief emphasis is on what is known as culture history; he gives excellent descriptions of religious thought, social and economic conditions, and *Geistesleben*. He treats at length of witchcraft and heresy, bureaucracy and trade, books and learning, city life and intellectual movements. Though the author nowhere gives proof for his statements — even direct quotations from sources are rare — one has the impression that he is at home in his field. As a 'culture portrait' the book is brilliant, but as an analysis or critique it leaves much to be desired.

One inevitably raises the question: What is history — social science or literary art? If literature, then nothing more need be said. If history is social science, then *Germany before the Reformation* is open to criticism. One's chief criticism of the work is its subjectivism and emotional phraseology. It is not a question of facts — Professor Andreas presumably knows the facts — but of approach. Apart

from the purely descriptive pages, the book is full of conclusions. The author may possess the data for his generalizations, but the reader does not see the data. Unless predisposed to agree with the author, the reader will remain sceptical as he wades through pages and pages of unsubstantiated statements.

If Professor Andreas' generalizations are too sweeping, his phraseology is most unfortunate. He is too fond of the historically meaningless term 'soul,' which he uses on every possible occasion; similarly, there is too much of the word *Geist*, as well as *Seelenleben*. Such concepts are emotionally weighted, and in the social sciences they are only confusing. 'Under the purple of the cardinal,' Professor Andreas says of Nicolas of Cusa, 'there beat a German heart.' There may be no difficulty about the purple of the cardinal, but a scientist may wonder how a German heart differs from any other heart. 'In Italy,' to give another example of the author's mystical phrasing, 'mysterious conjunctions of blood, race, tradition, history, and the force of an eternally rejuvenating ancient culture-soil, worked toward a new . . . ideal' (p. 412). The observation may or may not be sound, but the careless diction, so typical of a certain school of historians, is deplorable.

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UMBERTO DORINI, ed., *Statuti dell'Arte di Por S. Maria del Tempio della Repubblica (Fonti per la Storia delle Corporazioni artigiane del Comune di Firenze, vol. II)*. Florence: Libreria editrice Leo S. Olshki, 1934. Paper. Pp. xv+852. Lire 100.

THIS work is the second volume in the series of statutes of Florentine guilds, which a Commission formed in 1921 has undertaken to publish. The first volume, edited by Raffaele Ciasca, contained the Statutes of the Guild of Physicians and Spicers (*Statuti dell'Arte dei Medici e Speciali*), chosen as the first in the series because Dante was a member of that guild. It appeared in 1922. These statutes were published without an historical introduction because a part of the plan of the series was to publish separately a detailed study of each guild. Five years after the publication of the first volume of statutes appeared Ciasca's masterly historical study, *L'Arte dei Medici e Speciali nella Storia e nel Commercio fiorentino del secolo XII al XV* (Florence, 1927).

The same plan has been followed in the second volume of sources: the Statutes of the Guild of Por S. Maria are published without an historical sketch or a systematic exposition of the statutory material. The historical study is in preparation and will be published soon, we hope, because the exceedingly complex nature of the membership of the Guild of Por Santa Maria makes an historical explanation of the character and development of this guild even more essential than in the case of the guild studied by Ciasca. Until this companion volume does appear, the student may profitably turn to Dorini's little book, *L'Arte della Seta in Toscana* (Florence, 1928), which contains a brief sketch of the history of the Por S. Maria Guild.

Originally, the membership of this guild was composed of a large number of different trades, industrial and mercantile, each trade forming a separate *membro*

or unit of the gild: the gold- and silversmiths; the silk merchants; the retail sellers of cotton, linen, and some woolen cloth; the sellers of cloaks, hoods, veils, etc., of ornaments and trimmings, of ivory objects, of mirrors and combs, of rugs, of wooden and leather strong boxes, of basins and ewers, of chairs and seat coverings; the doublet-makers; the tailors; the embroiderers; the hosiers; the feather merchants; the feather-bed makers; and the mattress-makers. Dr Dorini has described the large gild as a federation of several small gilds, some of them more important than others. The *membri grossi* had a larger part in the government of the gild than did the *membri minori*.

The relative position of the units within the gild changed from time to time. For example, in the earliest extant statute, that of 1335, the silk merchants formed a *membro minore*, but by the early fifteenth century, they had increased sufficiently in importance to be regarded as a *membro grosso*. The *setaiuoli* gradually dominated the gild, and the name 'Por S. Maria' became synonymous with 'Arte della Seta.' This change was due to the development of the Florentine silk industry as an export industry beginning in the late fourteenth century and continuing throughout the fifteenth century, and is related to the decline of the woolen cloth industry, the *Arte dell Lana*.

The bulk of the present volume is composed of the text of the Latin Statute of 1335 (pp. 13-160), followed by the additions and reforms for the years 1335 to 1530 (pp. 163-777), the earliest of which are in Latin and the later ones, usually in Italian. It was the editor's intention to publish the new statute of 1580 and the revisions of it, but the size of the volume made this plan impractical. Furthermore, the Statute of 1580 and the modifications made during succeeding centuries have already been published by Lorenzo Cantini in several volumes of his *Legislazione Toscana*.

There are two appendixes in the volume. The first one (pp. 781-791) contains miscellaneous material relating to the Statute of 1335, such as an undated fourteenth-century statute of goldsmiths in Italian, excerpts from the Statute of the Podestà of 1325, and some fifteenth-century provisions of the Commune of Florence regarding duties on silk, silkworms, and mulberry leaves. Appendix II contains the confirmations of the old statute for the period 1563 to 1578, during which time the statute was approved every three years without any further revisions or additions being made. The latter are included in this volume because they are found in the same codex as the Statute of 1335 and all of its revisions.

Only one copy of the Statute of 1335 is extant, if we exclude a fourteenth-century translation of the Latin text into Italian. The original text is a fairly legible and accurate one. The editor has altered the spelling as little as possible. Abbreviations have been extended and missing letters inserted within brackets. A few scribal errors, etc., have been corrected by giving the proper form in the text and the incorrect form of the manuscript in a footnote.

Following the method used by Ciasca, the chapters of the statute have been divided into paragraphs and each paragraph has been designated by a letter of the 'alphabet to facilitate references to the text. Headings for the additions and reforms have been supplied by the editor.

A very useful feature of the critical apparatus is the references to all reforms and additions made to each section of the statute which are given in the footnotes. This enables the student to follow the development of any topic in which he is interested from the original statute through all the revisions and modifications made during two centuries.

A long, comprehensive, analytical index (pp. 799-852), which is a model of its kind, makes up in part for the lack of a critical introduction.

These last two features will enable students of mediaeval guilds, of statutory legislation, and of economic history in general to utilize a very valuable source with a minimum of effort. Had the volume been published earlier, it would have been a rich source of terms for my *Glossary of Mediaeval Italian Business Terms*. To the student of the Italian silk industry this collection of documents is especially valuable because, after the few provisions in the Communal Statute of Lucca of 1308, it contains the oldest statutory regulations concerning the silk industry in Italy. (The oldest extant detailed Luchese regulations date from 1376.)

Economic historians will await with eagerness the publication of Dorini's historical study of the evolution of the Gild Por S. Maria and the important rôle played by it in Florentine economic history of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

It is hoped that the Commission will be able to continue its admirable task of publishing the statutes of the Florentine guilds and that the interval between each volume may be shortened without any decrease in the high standard set by the first two volumes of the series.

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G. L. HASKINS, *The Statute of York and the Interest of the Commons* (The Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Essay for 1935). Cambridge, Massachusetts. Published by the Society, 1935. Cloth. Pp. 129+xii.

M. HASKINS' essay reviews and reopens the problem of interpreting the provisions of the Statute of York of 1322. Endless controversy has centered around the concluding sentences of the statute: ' . . . Mes les choses qi serront a establir pur lestat de nostre Seigneur le Roi, et de ses Heirs, et pur lestat du roialme et du poeple, soient tretes . . . en parlementz, par nostre Seigneur le Roi, et par lassent des Prelatz, Countes, et Baround et la communalte du roialme, auxint come ad este acustume cea enarere.'

The older school of historians believed that this provision of the statute guaranteed to the Commons the right to full participation in the legislative activities of Parliament. Mr Haskins rejects this view. He launches his attack with a short discussion of the relation between enactment and the Common Law, and concludes that neither this nor any earlier statute could have created new law in an age 'when statutes were enacted for the general purpose of declaring and emending existing law.'

Mr Haskins then inquires into the history of the Commons in Parliament previous to 1322, finding little evidence of their coöperation in other aspects of

parliamentary activity than the financial, viz., their consent to parliamentary grants of aid to the Crown. Moreover, he discovers nothing in the political situation in 1322 which could have forced Edward II to concede so great a boon to the Commons as the right to consent to general legislation.

Having, thus, placed the statute in its proper perspective, the author proceeds to a painstaking analysis and criticism of its contents, offering in conclusion his own hypothesis in place of those rejected. This consists, briefly, in the suggestion that the word 'estate' as used in the provision of the statute quoted above, should be understood in the narrow sense of 'fiscal matters,' not in the general sense of 'rank,' 'dignity,' or 'position.' This interpretation, he contends, would solve the problem, for the statute would then only confirm to the Commons a right which they had been exercising much earlier, namely, the right to consent to extraordinary grants of revenue to the king.

Doubtless many students of the subject will not be wholly convinced by Mr Haskins' hypothesis. Some will be unable to agree with the general theory on which it is based: that statutes created no new law or rights, but merely emended and explained ancient custom. Others will object to the interpretation given to the word 'estate.' Nevertheless a youthful historian is to be warmly congratulated on his mastery of a difficult subject and on the ingenuity of his solution of the problem. The latter has the virtue of being an attempt to solve a problem which many older historians have avoided, even though it has demanded the attention of scholars by its intrinsic merit. *Vestigia patris sequitur impiger!*

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HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages. (Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, Vol. VII, edited by Ejnar Munksgaard.)* Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1933. Folio. Half vellum. Pp. 32+80 plates. 260 Danish Crowns.

THIS UNUSUAL work is Vol. VII in Mr. Munksgaard's monumental facsimile editions of priceless Icelandic vellum manuscripts. This is indeed a unique publication. Here is for the first time brought together a representative collection of reproductions of initials and miniatures from Icelandic manuscripts. The book is therefore a highly important contribution to the history of Icelandic and ancient Northern art. It opens an almost unexplored world, rich in possibilities for the specialist in that field of study. Not only the student of art, but the archeologist as well, will find here much interesting and suggestive material.

Included in the volume are eighty plates of excellently reproduced illustrations, numbering 167 in all, whereof 24 are in multicolor. Particularly impressive are the full-page colored plates from the manuscripts *Stjórn*, *Flateyjarbók*, and not least *Jónsbók* (*Skarðsbók*). The many other reproductions from the last-named, full-page and of smaller size, are of a very high order and eloquently bear out the compiler's praise of the decorative beauty of this manuscript. Here, as elsewhere in the finest illustrations represented, it is easy to see that the Icelanders possessed a number of gifted and skilled illuminators. The study covers the period from about 1200 until 1500.



The ambitious and difficult task of preparing this volume, which involved the careful examination of numerous manuscripts in libraries of several countries, was entrusted to Professor Halldór Hermannsson. Unquestionably, he has made a judicious and varied choice. He had also written a very valuable and readable introduction in which he traces the origin and the history of Icelandic script and illumination of books in Iceland. Further, he devotes considerable space to an account of the principal manuscripts concerned and to an explanation and evaluation of the specimens included.

'It is likely,' writes Professor Hermannsson, 'that most of the men who were occupied in this pursuit were monks, or men in holy orders, and among them probably very few had the training of professionals. Much of what we have seems to be the work of amateurs. Viewed as a whole the illuminations show but little originality; they are for the most part imitations of foreign models, but as such they are often skilfully made and in good taste; as amateur work they would be counted very creditable. They are, in fact, among the best of their kind produced in the Scandinavian countries, at least of what has come down to our times.'

University and college libraries of any size, and of course art collectors and collections, should especially acquire this interesting pioneer work in the field of early Icelandic art, which is a veritable delight to the eye, a colorful, visual record of a notable chapter in the cultural history of the nations of the North.

As regards external appearance, the high standard of the earlier volumes of the series is fully maintained.

RICHARD BECK,

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ABBÉ VICTOR LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*. 5 volumes: pp. cxxxiii+352, 479, 479, 487, 348; and a portfolio of 142 plates. Paris: the Author, 26 rue de Lubeck, 1934.

'THE word Use,' wrote Henry Littlehales in his study of the *Prymer* in 1897 (II, p. xxxix), 'is a liturgical term meaning the customary use or arrangement of the public services of a diocese. And this arrangement, carefully laid down in the service books of any particular diocese, yet remains, with a few exceptions, to be really investigated.' The deficiency complained of has been to a large degree remedied since that time, and no one in recent years has done more to remedy it than the Abbé Leroquais. In 1924 he described the manuscript sacramentaries and missals as found in the public libraries of France, with due attention to 'use'; in 1927, the manuscript books of hours in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and now, in this most comprehensive of his works, the manuscript breviaries. His successive introductions show a progressive amplifying and sharpening of his methods, until in this present work only nine out of a total of 914 breviaries (I, p. lxiii, n. 1) have ultimately defied complete identification as of a particular monastic or diocesan use. Those nine are for the most part fragmentary, lacking the calendar of saints, the *temporale*, the *sanctorale*, or some other essential feature of a normal breviary. All of the rest, by a triumph of critical acumen and

patient research, are assigned to a specific monastic abbey or a diocesan church.

This type of investigation is no field for a novice, and yet there is nothing about it in principle which the novice cannot understand. In briefest terms, it consists in fitting the liturgical manuscript to a specific phase of liturgical history. The introduction describes the author's methods with a brilliance and charm that are wholly French. Like a prosecuting attorney confronting the accused, he says (p. lxii), is an investigator examining a manuscript. 'Who are you? Where did you come from? How old are you? Through what hands have you passed before coming here?' so, he continues, the questions go on, careful, methodical, detailed, probing into obscurities, weighing all replies, approaching the subject from many angles, until at last the accused — the manuscript — has yielded up all its secrets. First are the elementary tests (pp. v-xv) to determine whether it is an antiphonary or a gradual, a breviary or a missal, or still another type of liturgical book. After this is decided, the real task begins.

The identification centres chiefly about that most distinctive feature of mediaeval Christian worship, the cult of the saints. The Catholic Church began early to venerate its martyrs and confessors upon certain special days, and this form of piety ultimately developed into a vast and multiform system. To keep the religious emotions vivid and meaningful, each local church was encouraged to cultivate its own heroes, the outstanding figures in its own history. New saints were introduced from time to time, and new relics of older and more famous ones were brought in from the outside. Set forms were established for their worship, but in the pre-Tridentine centuries no two churches had exactly the same saints or the same liturgical customs. All of this is mirrored in the local breviary, a compendious manuscript which was first devised about the eleventh century and which became common by the thirteenth. In this the *temporale* (many manuscripts call it the *dominicale* because it especially concerns the worship of the Lord) is the portion giving the liturgical forms for Advent, Easter, and the other seasons of the ecclesiastical year, while the *sanctorale* is the portion telling how and when each saint is to be worshiped.

A calendar of saints' days regularly stands at the beginning of a breviary and is the first instrument for the determination of its origin. Similar indications may be drawn from the litany, in which a series of saints is called upon; from the suffrages, or special commemorations, in honor of particular saints; from the churches, gates, altars, and the like that are mentioned in rubrics, especially for processions; and finally from the *sanctorale* itself. Saints may be generally classified as universal, revered throughout the Catholic world; regional, cultivated over considerable sections; and local. For the purpose in hand it is the unusual, local saints that are important. These, when combined with the according of special prominence to certain universal saints for whom some local churches happen to be named, often point unmistakably to a particular place.

Another line of evidence can be drawn from the use, in the exact liturgical sense of that term. The psalms, lections, antiphons, responses, hymns, and other liturgical forms employed in the mass and in the daily service of prayer are different for the different dioceses and monastic orders. Horizontally, from church

to church and from abbey to abbey, there is the greatest diversity. Vertically, from century to century in a given diocese or order, the use remains the same. The uniformity is not quite so absolute as Leroquais in his earlier works believed. An 'absolute identity and fixity' is too rigid a thing to hold good in the realm of things human, and this latest work admits that there are some variations (p. lxxxiv). But the uniformity is surprising, and if one knows the exact use either from a reliable printed edition or from an already identified manuscript, the discovery of the same use in another manuscript is a conclusive proof as to its origin. Leroquais relies particularly upon the responses for the Sundays of Advent and for the last three days of Holy Week, and upon the Little Office of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead, as typical indications of the use involved.

An example, chosen literally at random, may be seen in his description of a manuscript at Alençon (I, 9). The calendar has already been described, with the citation of some twenty or twenty-five of the distinctive saints' festivals, followed by some 150 or more citations from the *sanctorale*, the prayers, and the special commemorations. Then comes at the close a summary of all the evidence. 'This manuscript is a monastic breviary: the offices with twelve lessons and the festivals in honor of St Benedict (that of July 11 being with an octave) show that clearly. The prayer for the abess (fol. 104) points to a monastery of women, which the mention of Angevin and Poitevin saints would locate in the confines of Anjou and Poitou. This abbey observes a special cult of St Mary Magdalene and St Lazarus. All these details apply exactly to the abbey of Fontevrault, in the diocese of Poitiers. Moreover, the responsorial of our manuscript is identical with that of the breviary of Fontevrault printed at Paris in 1538. It is not, therefore, a breviary of Notre Dame de la Trappe, as asserted in the *Catalogue général des manuscrits*. The presence of the office of Corpus Christi dates the volume at the beginning or in the first half of the fourteenth century, and not in the thirteenth as the aforementioned catalogue would indicate.'

Over nine hundred of these neat and precise summaries, all preceded by careful descriptions of the contents! The last sentence just quoted shows the culmination of this form of research. Having studied his manuscripts, which no one else knows so well, and having fitted them to a particular diocesan church or monastic abbey, the author then goes on to determine the date. The styles of writing and decoration give a general indication, but not enough precision. For this it is necessary to know, not merely the roster of saints as venerated at a given place in these earlier centuries, but just when and under what circumstances the various special cults were introduced. Here, as Leroquais observes (p. xcvi), we enter into a virgin forest. The detailed history of the liturgy in the various abbeys and churches has never, with very few exceptions, been written. From the work of certain of his pupils he here presents (pp. xcvi-cxxvii) chronological tables, with an index, of the dates at which the festivals of the distinctive saints were adopted, altered, or confirmed in seven of the prominent orders and three of the principal dioceses. Students of iconography will also be especially grateful for the list (pp. cxx-cxxvii) of over five hundred subjects represented in the miniatures of the breviaries, though the fact is stressed that over a hundred of these come solely from

the manuscript of the Duke of Bedford, and that in general the manuscript breviaries are sparingly illustrated.

The profound erudition of the author sits lightly upon him withal, and frequently his subtle Gallic humor flashes through. At the end of the introduction his thanks are accorded, among others, to his corrector of proof as 'probably the only person who will ever have read the work from end to end.' And the opening words of the introduction are these: 'Beware of pitying those who draw up catalogues of manuscripts; they are the most fortunate of mortals. Is there any task more pleasant, more alluring than this? I know of none more varied, more rich in all sorts of surprises . . . I know that some will be inclined to doubt. They will continue to say, with a feeling of boredom, that nothing is more like a breviary than another breviary, more like a book of hours than another book of hours, and that he who has seen one has seen all. Do not believe them too implicitly . . . As there are no two cathedrals alike, so there are no two identical manuscripts. On the contrary, there obtains among them the most astonishing diversity.'

While modestly disclaiming to compete with the formal histories of the breviary, this author gives us much which those do not contain. He aims, he says, to study the manuscripts as such, the body rather than the soul. But his sketch of the genesis of the breviary is one of the clearest and most readable that we possess, and to every user of his work it will be evident that he has laid the foundation for a more comprehensive and authoritative history of the breviary than yet exists.

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The Library of Congress.

ELEANOR C. LODGE AND GLADYS A. THORNTON, edd., *English Constitutional Documents, 1307-1485*. Cambridge, 1935. 430 pp.

THIS is an excellent book and one for which teachers and students alike have long felt a need. Bishop Stubbs ended his *Select Charters* with the reign of Edward I, stating that the machinery of English government was then complete. 'The system,' he says in the Introduction, 'is raw and untrained and awkward, but it is complete.' Since the first edition, the book has undergone some revision, notably at the hands of the late H. W. C. Davis; but the original plan of the work has not been changed. Recent researches of scholars in the history of parliament and the council have made it increasingly apparent how much less of a landmark the reign of Edward I is than was once supposed, whereas 'the study of administrative history, little understood in the past, has now come to be regarded as of paramount importance.' The present volume, edited by Lodge and Thornton, comes as an answer to the demand for a useful collection of source material to bridge the gap between the *Select Charters* and Tanner's *Tudor Constitutional Documents*. English history, from 1307 to 1485, has until now lacked any such convenient compendium as Altmann and Bernheim's *Ausgewählte Urkunden* in Germany. In England the materials for this period have been distributed through the larger collections, as Rymer and the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, or scattered in volumes more or less inaccessible to those not within reach of a large library.

The difficulties involved in putting together the various materials for a volume of this sort are many, for the period is one in which the available sources are far more numerous than in the two preceding centuries. Besides, as the complexities of governmental machinery increase and new administrative organs are brought into existence, a very real problem arises in deciding on the selection of documents to illustrate the progress of constitutional history. The editors of the present work, however, have well coped with these difficulties. The selection shows a firm grasp of the significant trends in constitutional and political history, as well as a thorough and obvious acquaintance with all the sources of the period. The illustrative documents are drawn from all the principal sources, mainly from published collections; some of the records, as the extracts from the Letter Books at Guildhall, have not heretofore been printed. The plan of the book is admirably conceived: it is divided into three parts, the central government, the Church, and local government, which are in turn subdivided into more special topics. Part I is naturally the most complete and covers in some detail the Crown, the Council, Parliament, Chancery, the Exchequer, and justice. Part III on local government has been extremely well worked out and covers a variety of miscellaneous topics from the justices of the peace and the escheators to two very valuable sections on seignorial jurisdictions and on some of the chief towns in England. Unfortunately there is nothing on the Cinque Ports, even by way of reference.

Each section has been prefaced by excellent and not too general summaries of the subject to be considered, with interlinear references to the following documents. There are also short, though very much up-to-date, bibliographies for each topic, arranged in subdivisions under original sources, secondary authorities, and articles. The chapter on the Crown and the prerogative has been handled extremely well, though we miss references to those of the Year Books which have been published and to Ehrlich's *Proceedings Against the Crown*, which covers the fourteenth century up to 1377. We note, too, that the editors follow Lapsley<sup>1</sup> in considering that the Statute of York (1322) provided that no legislation should be valid without the assent of the 'commonalty of the realm.' And they include this document under Parliament instead of under the section on the Crown, although curiously recognizing that 'the main purpose here was to revoke the ordinances of 1311' (p. 123). Another important chapter on Parliament is in general well done, albeit less successful in some respects. The authors' remarks on forms of legislative enactment, statutes and ordinances, are somewhat misleading; the documentation on this point is not good, and the authors are apparently not acquainted with the article of Richardson and Sayles on 'The Early Statutes.'<sup>2</sup> There is nothing, further, on the relation of commons' petitions to some of the early statutes of the fourteenth century, notably the Statutes of Stamford (1309) and Westminster (1320).<sup>3</sup> Both these subjects are matters of importance to the

<sup>1</sup> G. T. Lapsley, *E.H.R.*, xxviii (1913). Cf. the reviewer's *Statute of York and the Interest of the Commons*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935.

<sup>2</sup> *Law Quarterly Review*, I, nos. 198 and 200 (1934).

<sup>3</sup> See H. L. Gray, *The Influence of the Commons on Early Legislation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), ch. viii.

student of parliamentary history, for the growing competence of Parliament in legislative affairs is to be observed as carefully in the fourteenth century as the acquisition of control over finance in the thirteenth.

One deficiency detracts from an otherwise complete volume. The glossary of technical French and Latin terms at the end is too abbreviated. Since the book is designed primarily for undergraduates and since there are no small convenient dictionaries short of Godefroy and DuCange, this part of the book could easily stand expansion — especially the French section. There are many words in the documents which the student would not be likely to know and which are not included in the glossary; there are others, somewhat more obvious (as 'breve,' 'certiorare,' 'placitum,' 'utlagare'), which could well be omitted in deference to some less known. The book is on the whole conveniently and attractively gotten out, with few technical errors in the text (we note, however, *Articuli super artas* on page 94) or in the transcription of documents. The editors are to be congratulated on having completed this valuable book in so systematic and accurate a fashion. It will assume a high place among university texts and manuals.

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LUCIENNE MEYER, *Les Légendes des matières de Rome, de France et de Bretagne dans le 'Pantheon' de Godefroi de Viterbe. Préface par M. le Dr. Paolo Arcari. Paris: de Boccard, 1933. Paper. Pp. xix+247.*

IN the present volume Dr Meyer has discussed, mainly in the form of a running plot-analysis, the sources of those parts of the *Pantheon* of Gottfried of Viterbo (perhaps of Bamberg?) which deal with Jean Bodel's three famous 'matters.'

Dr Meyer's work is not, as Professor Arcari suggests (p. xi), a remarkable contribution to the study of these 'matters' of mediaeval literature; it is, however, a valuable commentary on Gottfried's modest literary art and on his sources, and does bring out certain points on which further study is clearly needed. The extraordinarily long-winded presentation justifies perhaps a brief summary of the author's main findings.

The opening sections (pp. 1-20) on Gottfried's life and works conveniently review the current literature. Passing to Æneas (pp. 28-42) it is shown that the chief source is the *Chronicon* of Otto of Freising, whence Æneas as 'patriae proditor et necromatius' (p. 29) and other smaller traits not in Virgil. In his treatment of the theme of the Trojan origin of the Franks (pp. 43-55) Gottfried departs in two details from Otto, namely in the mention of a 'Priamus iunior, nepos magni Priami ex sorore' (p. 43) and in placing the city of Sicambria which the Trojans build after leaving Padua 'per Mæotides paludes, in Scythiam regionem' (p. 46). These novelties come essentially from the *Liber historiae Francorum*, in these points somewhat adjusted to accord with Otto's account. The legendary history (Dr Meyer's 'tradition romanesque') of Alexander the Great occupies much space (pp. 55-114): here the chief source is evidently one of the interpolated (*I*, not *J*) recensions of the arciprète Leo's *Nativitas et Victoria*, known under the

generic title of *Historia de Preliis*; it would seem that Gottfried had had at hand recension *I*<sup>2</sup>, that is, if we rely on the little positive evidence adduced (pp. 69-71; the argument on p. 106, n. 1, end, is not weighty). On use of the *Historia de Preliis*, cp. pp. 63, 73?, 74, probably 79, 97 — Sun and Moon — probably pp. 98-99, 101-106. Secondly, Gottfried uses Otto von Freising, who in turn drew on the *Zacher Epitome* (p. 74) and the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem* (pp. 76-79). The narrative of the *Historia de Preliis, I*<sup>2</sup>, is radically abridged, suffering numerous cuts, e.g., omitting the episode of Alexander and Talistride (p. 81) and of Alexander and Candace (p. 101); the Indian campaign (p. 81) and the correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus (pp. 82-97) are also much condensed, and out of the five letters of the famous correspondence are made six, thus giving Dindimus the last word (see p. 94). Gottfried's account cannot be properly described as an assemblage of 'les sources historiques et romanesque [=légendaires] les plus diverses' (p. 113), nor, except for one or two minor points is it significant for the legendary history of Alexander.

The story of Apollonius of Tyre occupies pp. 114-150, and is excessively discussed, inasmuch as Dr Meyer remarks (p. 148) with reference to the text-type of Gottfried's source that 'Klebs l'a déjà étudiée et nous nous bornerons à rapporter ses conclusions, qui nous paraissent pleinement justifiées.' Gottfried's source was in fact a text of the type *RC* (mixed text and the type most current in the Middle Ages). Two peculiarities may be noted, first (p. 128) *Cleopatra* as the name for *Lucina* of text-type *RA* and *Archistratis* of text-type *RB*; secondly (p. 132), Apollonius' concealing of his identity until after his marriage (noted by Klebs as a folk-tale feature and as reflecting a Germanic tendency somewhat characteristic of Gottfried).

Under the 'Matter of France' (pp. 151-189) Dr Meyer has occasion to take up various subjects. Under 'Charles-Martel' attention may be called to '*Gaudina*' (p. 151), the name given by Gottfried to Neustria, the land of the Western Franks ('*Ligeris vocabatur Gaudina*') before Charles-Martel had defeated two nameless brother-roitelets ('*duo reguli fratres*') and decreed that this region should henceforth be called '*Francigena*' (p. 152); Dr Meyer here argues with some force against the late Pio Rajna's earlier identification of these same brothers with Rainfroi (Reginfred) and Heldri (Childeric < Chilperic) of the *chansons de geste*. Under the 'Parents of Charlemagne' (pp. 155-161) it is pointed out that Gottfried is one of the first to report the legend of big-footed Bertha (pp. 156-160) and perhaps unique in making the Emperor Heraclius her maternal grandfather (p. 159). Charlemagne himself (pp. 161-189) is said by Gottfried to have been born at Ingelheim (Hessen) (p. 162); the account of the death of Amis and Amiles at the battle of Mortara (between Vercelli and Padua) is evidently drawn from the same source as is the *Vita SS. Amici et Ameli carissimorum*; Gottfried's use of the vernacular form 'Amis' vs. the Latin 'Amicus' is no doubt correctly interpreted (p. 167) as a direct borrowing from contemporary local (Piedmontese-Lombard) pronunciation. The story of Oliver and Roland (whose relationship to Charlemagne is ignored by Gottfried) at the

battle of Pavia is explained by Dr Meyer (as I understand her) as a reflex of local oral tradition rather than with *Rajna* as from a lost *chanson de geste* or local written tradition (p. 169). The slight allusion to Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Jerusalem follows closely the account in the well-known *Descriptio* (p. 173) with its special feature of making the emperor *come back* rather than *go out* through Southern Italy, specifically Sicily, with Roland and Oliver as travelling companions. The names of the latter are said by Gottfried to be commemorated in two Sicilian mountains, the first probably preserved today in the 'Capo d'Orlando,' the second perhaps in an 'Olivieri castle' on an elevation at the mouth of the Olivieri river; the latter, however, may be derived from the local olive-groves (pp. 176, 178). Most curious and most interesting in this part of Gottfried's narrative is the account of events long preceding the subject dealt with in the *Chanson de Roland* (purposely passed over by the author): a vision advises Charlemagne to conquer Spain for Christendom, but Ganelon (Gaino) urges him to defer the undertaking and to send Roland to negotiate peace. Roland knows that Ganelon urges this course from envy and hatred but goes with 30,000 men. Without the help or the presence of Oliver he conquers six enemy kings; only with the sixth, David, at Pamplona (Navarre) does he encounter serious difficulties. Gottfried knows of Charlemagne's later wars and he exhibits here and there familiarity with the *Chanson de Roland*, but it seems likely that he had recourse to some lost chronicle (certainly not the *Pseudo-Turpin*) or vernacular work (pp. 184, 188). It is to be noted that this story, whatever its source, seems to have won no contemporary success, at all events there is no known use of it by later writers, including such as subsequently drew to some extent upon the *Pantheon*.

The final section of Dr Meyer's work is devoted to the matter of Britain (pp. 190-223), based with characteristic cuts and alterations on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, probably with some incidental use of Ovid.

The conclusion (pp. 225-239) serves as a sort of index; a recapitulation of titles cited ('Bibliography') occupies pp. 241-246. The bibliography could be improved without altering its modest scope, e.g., by citing more recent editions of Quintus Curtius Rufus, Dares Phrygius, Dictys Cretensis, Flavius Josephus, Justinus, and Wattenbach, and by including references to J. D. Bruce, *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* (with numerous supplements), and Carl Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur* (3d ed., 1925), all of which contain a wealth of up-to-date bibliographical material. In footnote 1, p. 73, the obvious work to cite on Fortuna is H. R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), while the discussion of the mediaeval use of *prosi-metrum* would have been vastly improved by a reading of J. R. Reinhard, 'The Literary Background of the *Chantefable*,' *SPECULUM* I (1926), 157-169.

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RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *The Cid and his Spain*, translated by Harold Sunderland. London: John Murray, 1934. Cloth. Pp. xii+470.

A PROFESSOR of Mediaeval History who was questioned about the part the Spaniards played in the First Crusade counterquestioned regarding conditions in Spain at the time. The student began timidly, 'The Moors —,' and the professor broke in, 'Yes, the Moors.' And with that Spain was never again mentioned during the course. Since that time thirteen years ago the questioner has found that the same veil of obscurity has hidden mediaeval Spain from the view of the average intelligent person with whom she has come in contact. To them mediaeval Spain means first and foremost the Inquisition (shades of *The Pit and the Pendulum*), although the mere 'trifle' of six centuries of history preceded this. Occasionally, a slight appreciation of Hispano-Arabic civilization is encountered with no knowledge of the history behind it, but, aside from this, only with Isabella and Columbus does Spain begin to have real meaning for them.

Of course, scholars have long realized that no one part of the world may be overlooked in the study of history because of the interplay of peoples on another and for such as they Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal published in 1929 his *La España del Cid*, a work in two volumes with an accompanying envelope of maps, the result of twenty years' study of the Cid. The Duke of Berwick and Alba felt that many readers of English might extend a hearty welcome to this notable study of eleventh-century Spain and has generously made it available to them in one volume. The author collaborated with Mr Sunderland, the translator, in abridging the Spanish original so that we may be sure nothing pertaining to the main thread of the history of the Cid and his Spain is lacking, although matters of less interest to the general reader, such as the qualities of an historian like Ibn Alcama, or the long discussion of Dozy's malevolent account of the Cid, are either omitted or greatly abbreviated. Most of the footnotes and an extended appendix of notes in volume two of the Spanish edition have likewise been omitted, although in some instances the conclusions reached in these notes of the appendix are incorporated in the text of the English version, though not appearing in the Spanish text.

That it was possible to write a *biography* of an epic hero is due to Senor Menéndez Pidal's unparalleled knowledge of sources and records whereby each line of the poetical texts, the *Carmen Roderici*, the *Poema del Cid*, the *Cantar de Zamora* and others, could be subjected to the most detailed research, with a resultant amazing verification of their statements in charters and in chronicles, Christian, Arabic, and even Hebrew. The use of the poetical texts as the basis of the biography is due to Senor Menéndez's firm conviction that 'Modern philological criticism . . . constrains us to accept these texts as authentic sources of information instead of as mere fictitious adornments of the drier narratives' (p. 12).

No longer need eleventh-century Spain be passed by because the details of its history seem confusing, for we have here a work whose aim is to present a general rather than a complete picture of the Peninsula and in so doing gives us a keener comprehension of its intricate history. Spain's true position in world polity is

shown to have been that of one of the outposts which not only delayed the on-thrust of a renescent Islam, as did the eastern crusades, but which actually turned it back so that never again was it a real menace to Europe in the west. And it was Rodrigo Diaz, the Cid, a petty noble from Castile obsessed with the idea of unity for the Iberian peninsula, who broke the force of this resurgent Islamism from Africa called in by the effete, decadent Taifa emirates. Thus, in truth, the Cid becomes the hero for all of us, and well he may, for his traits were those we still admire, moderate, chivalrous, and just, tremendously energetic, a great military leader and a great administrator, passionately nationalistic, and loyal to the extreme to his king, Alfonso VI of Leon, who rewarded him by listening to the envious tongues of less capable nobles and so sent him into exile.

Excellent illustrations are of interest, especially those from a manuscript of the *Cantigas* showing the mass formation of troops employed by the Almoravides, part of the new military tactics introduced by their leader Yusuf ibn Teshufin when summoned from Africa in 1086 by the frightened Moslems of Spain. The maps of the Spanish edition, some drawn by Jimena Menéndez Pidal, in this volume follow a helpful index.

Only a few points call for comment here. On p. 31 a reference is made to a map opposite p. 176, which is not there. On p. 270, for '1901' read '1091.' The designation of Robert I of France as 'monastic' (p. 41) is a bit startling in view of his three wives (not simultaneous) and his prolonged controversy with the papacy over putting away Bertha, the second, who was too closely related to him. The burning of the monastery of San Cugat de Valles occurred in 985 (not 986, as on p. 27) during the same campaign of Al-Mansur's as the sack of Barcelona. Spanish Christian libraries of the eleventh century were not quite as 'circumscribed' as Senor Menéndez states (p. 37), of especial importance being their legal texts. In 1047 the monastery of Santa María de Ripoll owned two hundred and twenty-eight manuscripts, but the inventories are known to have been notoriously incomplete, and the actual number of works were from two to four times the number of manuscripts.

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*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. I. Sticherarium* (ed., Carsten Höeg, H. J. W. Tillyard, Egon Wellesz, Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1935), pp. 326.

H. J. W. TILLYARD, *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Subsidia, I, fasc. 1*, pp. 48.

CARSTEN HÖEG, *La notation ekphonétique, ibid., I, fasc. 2*, pp. 162+3 plates.

SINCE the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the importance of Byzantine music, both for itself and for its putative influence on western music, has been recognized by musicologists. Yet until recently, research in the field has been hampered by the lack of readily available manuscript material. There has been no large corpus of published facsimiles comparable to the *Paléographie musicale*, which has been of such value to students of Gregorian chant. Manuscripts have been scattered from the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris to the Near East, and careful students, unless possessed of funds, have been at a loss for source ma-

terial. This need is now in the process of being satisfied, with the appearance, under able editorship, of the first volume of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. The series, when completed, will consist of reproductions of musical manuscript of the mediobyzantine period (1200–1400 A.D.). This volume is a facsimile of *Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus Graecus*, no. 181, a collection of *stichera*, or short prose tropes, made, apparently, in the thirteenth century. Its choice was a happy one. Most of the musical manuscripts surviving from the middle period are *sticheraria*, and this is both one of the oldest and one of the most legible. The reproduction is clear and the editors' introduction adequate.

Paralleling the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, a series of critical studies is to be published. The first two of these have just appeared. Both are descriptive rather than critical or interpretive; but the character of these initial studies is explicable on the ground that most musicologists being yet unfamiliar with Byzantine musical notation will find handbooks of greater immediate value than critical evaluation. Certainly Tillyard's *Handbook of Middle Byzantine Notation* is admirably suited to the needs of the novice. In less than fifty pages, the principles of the 'round' notation are set forth so lucidly that with a few hours' study the music of the *sticherarium* is decipherable. There are exercises and musical examples of each of the eight modes, which facilitate study of the notation.

In *La notation ekphonétique*, Carsten Höeg describes the recitative marks used for public liturgical readings. These are an extension of the accentual signs devised by Aristophanes of Byzantium. Unlike musical notation, the recitative marks have no fixed interval value, but indicate rising and falling inflections of the voice. The greater part of the fascicule is devoted to a description of the thirteen signs found in the table discovered by Papadopoulos-Kerameus at the monastery of Leimon on the island of Lesbos in 1882. The significance of the table was indicated shortly thereafter by Thibaut.<sup>1</sup> Höeg was fortunate in discovering two other copies of the table at the monastery of Sinai, so that by collating the texts, he has been able to arrive at a more accurate version than has formerly been available to students. The table is a mnemonic device for memorizing the ekphonetic signs. After a discussion of the signs themselves, in the light of the table, Höeg gives numerous examples of the notation from manuscripts containing it. There is also a chapter devoted to the transcription of two modern examples of Greek recitative.

The concluding chapter raises the interesting problem of the relation of Byzantine ekphonetic notation to the Hebrew masoretic accents on the one hand and the similar systems of accents found in Syrian, Sogdian, Pahlavic, Coptic, and Armenian texts. Höeg does little more than state the problem. In truth, he can do little else. Our knowledge of Coptic and Armenian music is based largely on hypotheses. We know little more about Syrian music of the early Christian centuries. By comparison, our information about Hebrew music looms large.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Etudes de musique byzantine. Le chant ekphonétique,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VIII (1899), 122 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Höeg summarizes the opposing positions of Idelsohn and Spanier on the antiquity of the masoretic accents and makes some pretense of evaluation despite a frank confession of his inability to do so.

There is consequent danger of overemphasizing Hebrew influence on the formation of the ekphonic notation. It is possible that the Byzantine accents were derived from the Hebrew, with lesser contributions made by the other Levantine cultures. But it is also possible that the systems of notation developed more or less simultaneously. The ekphonic system seems to have developed about the fourth century (p. 38). Yet the story goes that when the Bible was translated from the Hebrew into the Greek during the third century, no one could be found who could decipher the masoretic accents which were in it. If the masoretic tradition was lost a century before the ekphonic notation was developed, it could not have exercised a preponderant influence on the Byzantine system. However, the problem of origins is always a matter of hypotheses. Insistence on any particular evaluation is unjustified in view of the nebulous state of our information. Höeg has obviously tried to be as judicial as possible and is to be commended for the attempt.

The subsidiary series of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, if continued on the high plane of scholarship evident in the first two fascicules, should be valuable. It is to be hoped that successive volumes will be written more in a critical than in a descriptive vein. The problems centering in Byzantine notation are complicated. The rhythm of Byzantine music and the musical values of the ekphonic notation are by no means closed subjects. Doubtless we may look for treatment of such questions from the pens of the very able editors of the *Monumenta*, whose learning and careful scholarship have fitted them so ably for their task.

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ARTHUR G. RUSTON AND DENIS WITNEY, *Hooton Pagnell, the agricultural evolution of a Yorkshire village*. New York (London): Longmans, Green and Company (Edward Arnold), 1934. Pp. viii+459.

HOOTON PAGNELL is a village in the West Riding of York, a little more than six miles northwest of Doncaster. The manor can be identified continuously from the Saxon period, though the accounts and court rolls constitute, apparently, a somewhat less continuous series than the records of manors that have already been the subjects of local monographs. Nevertheless, the general distribution of the material over this long period of time is fairly good, and deficiencies have been supplied from neighboring localities in the West Riding. The eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century farm accounts are more complete than is commonly the case, and these records were the basis of the authors' interest in Hooton Pagnell. Careful studies of modern agricultural history were made which were gradually pushed back into the earlier period. The authors have subordinated legal problems to the concrete details of farm management, village organization, and land utilization. No previous writers have brought such interests and training to a monograph on English agriculture. The result is an extremely vivid and stimulating description of agriculture and village life.

The mediaeval records at Hooton Pagnell add little to the material available

in the general records: Domesday, the Lay Subsidy of 1297, and the Poll Tax of 1379. Descriptions of early tenure rest upon general sources or upon materials from other manors in the West Riding. There is, therefore, little new documentary evidence in respect of mediaeval agriculture or land tenure. Despite the familiarity of material, the treatment of mediaeval agriculture is stimulating and significant.

Local and unpublished regional material is abundant after 1550, so that the history of enclosure, land tenure, and land utilization can be analyzed in considerable detail with new source material. All these topics are treated systematically. When material is not available at Hooton Pagnell, the records of neighboring manors are used. We have, thus, a substantially complete description of the technique and organization of agriculture from the point of view of a single village and its inhabitants. This departure from the rigid confines of a strictly local monograph is an important and felicitous development in method. Tenures, tenant rights, and tithes are described from the individual point of view, and in more detail than would be possible in any general treatise, but no single manor could furnish the documentation for so comprehensive an account. The book thus achieves generality of tone and breadth of interest without losing the vivid focus of a localized study.

The positive contributions of the study lie in the precision of treatment of the agrarian changes associated with enclosure and the introduction of rotation agriculture. The authors deal at length with processes that are commonly sketched roughly with little regard to detail. Throughout the text, there is evidence of a lack of interest in erudition. This attitude has many positive merits, but it has been extended to details of documentation to a greater extent than is justified. Extensive bibliographies of well-known printed books are not indispensable, though they are frequently convenient. Long and distracting footnotes can become a nuisance. But some description of the manuscript materials used adds much to the value of any piece of research, and would be of especial interest in this case. The precise character of the extant records at Hooton Pagnell could be described in a few pages of supplementary matter which would answer many questions for the historian without bothering the general reader.

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MARGARET SCHLAUCH, *Romance in Iceland*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1934.  
Cloth. Pp. 201. \$2.00.

*Romance in Iceland* is an able pioneer study of the Icelandic *lygisögur*, fictitious or imaginary (vs. historical and heroic) stories, drawn, as Dr Schlauch makes abundantly clear, from all the world and illustrating the wide contacts enjoyed by the Icelanders in the period from ca 1200 to 1500. The pertinent cultural-historical background, tersely but excellently sketched in the opening chapter 'The Setting,' leads us forthwith to a series of special studies of the sagas, divided according to their sources, e.g., 'The Old Gods and Heroes' (late survivals and adaptations of the same), 'The Classical Tradition: a, Latin Learning; b, Greek

Romances' (a, influence on general setting and machinery, the lapidaries, bestiaries, influence of Ovid, Biblical and Classical history including romances of the matter of Roma, Mandeville, Prester John; b, Byzantine-Varangian contacts, influence of Greek romances on plot), and 'The Road to the East' (oriental story: specific borrowings and general influence), 'Recurrent Literary Themes' (the unpromising hero, the amorous or wicked stepmother, etc.), 'Magic and the Supernatural' (unnatural natural history and lore, witches, enchantments, parallels to the Irish *geis*, ON. *álag*, magic, leechcraft, *draugar*), and 'Imitations of French Romance' (motifs from the same). The 'Conclusions' urges further study of this wealth of material and makes a plea for a series of editions.

Writing with much sly and quiet humor Miss Schlauch has opened up a vast storehouse of hitherto relatively neglected material. She has read with acuity and analyzed with care innumerable *lygisögur*; to her analyses she has brought much valuable interpretation and comment, based on her own wide reading in mediaeval European literature, eastern and western.

The following few additional references can be but a slight testimony of the reviewer's interest in Dr Schlauch's work. P. 4, n. 3, add S. H. Cross, 'Yaroslav the Wise in Norse Tradition,' *SPECULUM*, IV (1929), 329-339, and 'La Tradition islandaise de Saint Vladimir,' *Revue des études slaves*, XI (1932), 133-148. P. 18, l. 13 from bottom to 'who had himself worshipped as a god' add footnote-reference to Lily Ross Taylor, 'The Proskynesis and the Hellenistic Ruler-Cult,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLVII (1927), 53-62, and A. R. Anderson, 'Heracles and his Successors,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIX (1928), 12-29. P. 24, l. 7, 'silver ring,' reference is to the so-called *stalla-hringr*, which is likewise mentioned in the Old-English Chronicle, anno 876 'on þām hālgan bēage' (cp. M. Hoffmann-Hirtz, *Une chronique anglo-saxonne*, etc., Strasburg: Librairie universitaire d'Alsace, 1933, p. 78, n. 4). P. 25, n. 2, with or for Jakobsen cite F. S. Cawley, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. P. 43, l. 11 from bottom: the episode in question almost surely stands in some relation to similar material in the *Lapidary* of Albertus Magnus, perhaps via the *Historia de Prelüs*, I<sup>3</sup> (see Pfister in *Münchener Museum*, I [1912], 259-261). P. 45, on 'Bullsifal' and 'Bussifal,' Alexander's Bucephalus in Scandian lands see Magoun in *Studia Germanica tillägnade E. A. Koch*, pp. 176 ff. P. 49, n. 25 (also p. 179 first item) for Unger cite now edition by the late Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1925. P. 74, n. 18, cite edition of G. R. Woodward and H. Mattingly, Loeb Library, 1914. P. 89, n. 51, add reference to R. Thurneysen, *Die altirische Helden- und König-saga* (Halle, 1921), pp. 273-274. P. 93, n. 65, add reference to A. Hilka, *Historia septem sapientium*, I and II (Heidelberg, 1912, 1913). P. 102, on the *heüstrenging* one would now note Stefán Einarsson, 'Old English *Beot* and Old Icelandic *Heüstrenging*,' *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 975 ff. P. 108 (top), it would probably be proper to stress the realism of the robbing of burial-mounds, encouraged in Iceland (vs. in Norway) on account of hard times in the later Middle Ages and on account of frequent changes in land-holdings, as a result of which newcomers to a farm would feel no particular sentiment for the tombs of unrelated deceased. P. 122, ll. 15-17, cp. Wulfstán's report to King Alfred of a similar magic power

enjoyed by the Ests (ability to cause to freeze at will vessels of water or ale). P. 144, n. 57, the scene in question does not occur in the Icelandic *Alexanders saga* for the reason that the latter does not look back to the legendary history (romance) of Alexander, but via Gautier de Châtillon essentially to the sober historian Quintus Curtius Rufus. P. 161, n. 26, to Loomis' *Celtic Myth* add R. S. Loomis, 'The Visit to the Perilous Castle, etc.,' *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), esp. p. 1013 ff. on the *lits périlleux*.

Miss Schlauch's book is filled with little gems of discovery, discoveries to which many of us would be proud to devote an article or note; among the choicest are perhaps: Pp. 65-66 where it is pointed out that the Greek novel *Lybistros and Rodamne* offers a hitherto unnoted parallel to *Rémundar saga*; p. 106, n. 38, with its list of 42 sagas in which the motif of the unwelcome suitor is used; and pp. 110-111 with the *Béowulf*-parallel now first detected by Miss Schlauch in *Játmundar saga*.

If the *lygisögur* fall far short of the finer, native achievements of the Nordic spirit, their study becomes, nevertheless, in Dr Schlauch's skilled hands a fascinating key to the receptivity of our ancestors to foreign ideas and bears interesting testimony to their ability to adapt these in various ways to their own traditions and ideals.

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P. DR. VIKTOR SCHURR, C. SS. R., *Die Trinitätslehre des Boethius im Lichte der 'skythischen Kontroversen'*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 1935. Paper. Pp. xxx+248. 12 M.

AMONG the many contributions to our knowledge of Boethius since Usener published his little masterpiece, *Anecdota Holden*, in 1877, two are of sovereign importance. One is Fritz Klingner's *De Boethii Consolatione Philosophiae*, Berlin, 1921, and the other is the volume here reviewed. Father Schurr had first intended a comparison of Boethius's argument on the doctrine of the Holy Trinity with that of St Augustine, whose work, the philosopher professes, gave the starting point for his thought. But simply the analysis of Boethius's reasoning and its historical background has furnished ample matter for a volume. The work throws a new and searching light on theology, church history, and Boethius.

After presenting a complete and well-ordered bibliography on Boethius, the author reviews the age-long controversy over the authenticity of the *Opuscula Sacra*, happily a controversy no more. He leaves out of consideration No. IV of the five tractates (p. 8), apparently accepting my demonstration of its spuriousness in my doctor's thesis (*Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat de fide catholica*, 1901), notwithstanding my subsequent recantation. He is influenced by the note ACTENUS BOETIUS in *Karlsruhe MS XVIII (R)* between Tr. III and IV. The significance of that note, I believe, is diminished by the complete evidence of the tradition. Traube asked me, I remember, why Reginbert, the writer of that part of *R*, should know more about the matter than we. Obviously the question now requires a fresh discussion, especially with the new

data now available in Lane Cooper's *Concordance* (Mediaeval Academy of America, 1928).<sup>1</sup>

A penetrating analysis of the theology of Boethius is then presented, in which, among other matters, the philosopher's famous definitions of Nature and Person are subjected to keen criticism. Father Schurr concludes, in the question of universals, that Boethius's position was never precisely defined (p. 42), though recognizing his tendency to avoid the extreme realism of the Neoplatonic philosophy (p. 54) and allowing that the Aristotelian caste of his reasoning did not exclude a Platonic attitude, especially since he meant to reconcile the teachings of the two masters (p. 44). There is valuable criticism of two recent estimates of Boethius's theology by Bruder (1928) and Brosch (1931), for instance in the matter of Boethius's epistemology (p. 46). Father Schurr agrees with the point of view tentatively advanced in my dissertation and in that of McKinlay (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xviii, 1907) that the *Opuscula Sacra* are no youthful effusion on the part of Boethius, but the product of his matured philosophic thought. He agrees, however (p. 103), with Brandt (1903) against us, that the works on the *Trivium*, beginning with the *Arithmetica*, precede those on the *Organon*. This point, which I am not quite ready to concede, has only a minor importance for the present argument.

Most valuable and convincing in the proof (pp. 97-104), never given before, that of the two Trinitarian tractates, Tr. II precedes Tr. I. Tr. II, taken straight from St Augustine, is comparatively clear and simple in expression. Tr. I, esoteric in style, exhibits Boethius's mastery of Aristotelian technique. Tr. III, an extract from *Hebdomades*, a work in seven parts, as I had sought to show, develops a topic broached in Tr. I (pp. 225-227). No wonder that when the little works were grouped for publication, whether by Boethius or somebody else, Tr. I, the masterpiece, was placed at the beginning.

The question of exact dating remains. Renatus Vallinus in his edition of the *Consolatio* (1656) had shown the connection between Tr. v and the letter sent

<sup>1</sup> It is gratifying to see that the *Concordance* has already attested its utility by its contributions to the present study (see pp. 12, 223). It is also gratifying to the reviewer to find that his text of the *Opuscula Sacra* contributed to the volume of Boethius in the Loeb series and soon, I hope, to appear with complete apparatus in the Vienna *Corpus*, has been made the basis for the author's searching analysis of the theology of Boethius (see N. 48). Father Schurr corrects the text but twice and then in matters of punctuation (pp. 31, 87), of which one is most important (p. 87). He also has a high opinion of the translation of the *Opuscula* by my friend Dr Stewart (pp. 53, 70), and supplies corrections at several points (pp. 33, 58, 82, 86, 88, 91). For these improvements I am sure that we both are grateful. Another matter of incidental importance is the controversy now raging (with mild and amicable rage) between Dom Cappuyns and the reviewer over the commentary which I ascribed to John the Scot, but which Dom Cappuyns thinks the work of Remigius of Auxerre. Father Schurr leaves the question open by putting a question-mark after the name *Ioh. Scottus*, though apparently inclining to the view of Dom Cappuyns (p. xvi). I would repeat that we need first an accurate text of the second form of this commentary, which in my opinion is Remigius's affair. Professor Silk's recent publication of a commentary on the *Consolatio* attributed by him to John the Scot (soon to be reviewed in these columns) naturally contains evidence of importance. Meanwhile I note that the original form of the commentary on the *Opuscula Sacra* is cited in the present work for various excellent remarks (pp. 37, 72, 225, 226).



in 512 by certain Bishops of the East to Pope Symmachus at Rome. With a complete account of the theological and political development since the Council of Chalcedon in 451 that led to the writing of this letter, the author demonstrates conclusively the pertinence of Vallinus's suggestion (pp. 108-136). The bishops in question (p. 127) were of the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire — Scythia, Thrace, Illyria. Their Christological formula *et ex duabus naturis et in duabus* is precisely the theme developed in Boethius's tractate.

There follows the most interesting and original part of the work (pp. 126-225) — though it is hard to distinguish when all is original and interesting — in which the historical background of Tr. I and Tr. II is presented with no less certainty. We are here concerned with a later stage of the 'Scythian controversy,' in which theologians of Scythia, in particular Maxentius and Dionysius Exiguus — more generally known for his contributions to chronology — sought to mediate between the monophysitism of the East and the conservatism of Rome in the question of the Divine Passion by their formula of *unus ex trinitate carne passus*. Starting with Christology, the discussion led to a re-examination of the doctrine of the Trinity. By a comparison of the work of Dionysius Exiguus — the introductory letter to his translation of the *Tomus ad Armenios* by Proclus of Constantinople — and Tractates I and II of Boethius, the author shows that it was precisely this new Scythian controversy that stimulated Boethius to a philosophical consideration of the question of the Trinity, just as in 512 the letter of the Eastern Bishops was incidentally responsible for Tr. v, '*Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*.' Boethius first, in Tr. II, applied St Augustine's arguments to the problem, and then thought it out dialectically for himself in Tr. I. The date of these treatises is as certain as that of Tr. v. The first stage of the Theopaschite controversy was 519-521. Boethius's years from 510 to 522 were occupied with other philosophical works (p. 107), and in 524 he was sent to the dungeon at Pavia. It was in 523 that the last of his theological tractates were written (p. 224).

How fares St Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius Martyr in the light of this new and critical research? His aureole shines less brightly than before (see esp. pp. 222 f.). Arianism, the author states, was not an issue for Rome at this time, and Boethius mentions Arius but once in the genuine tractates. Although a believing Christian, he writes not as a theologian but as a philosopher experimenting with theology. His discussions have nothing of the character of a *Tendenzschrift* theological or political. They contain nothing that would offend Theodoric, supposing that he could understand them. It is hard, therefore, to suppose that Boethius died as a martyr for the Catholic faith.

This is indeed part of the story, but not, I think, all. Granting, for the moment, that Tr. IV is genuine, the condemnation of Arianism there expressed in vigorous terms<sup>1</sup> might well have aroused Theodoric's displeasure had it come to his attention. But waiving that point, it is clear, as Father Schurr shows, that the doctrines held by Boethius and the Scythiac theologians were designed to effect

<sup>1</sup> Tr. IV, 32 (p. 54): 'multi diversa et humaniter atque ut ita dicam carnaliter sentientes . . . ut Arius.'

a harmony between the Eastern Church and that of the West and that there were political as well as theological aspects of the controversy.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the advocacy on the part of a Roman statesman of the view favored by Justin, Emperor of the East, might well suggest to the suspicious mind of the Gothic king that the rapprochement was not merely theological. Boethius was accused, certainly, of underhand dealings with the Eastern court. If we accept his statement, as I think we should, that such charges were groundless, it is clear that his theology, an innocent thing in itself, led to his downfall.

Moreover, it is not merely as a philosopher that he writes. There are moments in the dialectical treatises that comport well with the tenor of Tr. iv. He is here as there concerned with defending the Catholic faith,<sup>2</sup> which Arianism was not. He appeals to the testimony of Holy Scripture<sup>3</sup> and once has in mind, it would seem, a passage in St Paul.<sup>4</sup> He ends his attack on the two rival heretics in a tone of humble piety<sup>5</sup> like that displayed both in Tr. iv<sup>6</sup> and at the close of the *Consolatio*.<sup>7</sup>

Such fervor, displayed in 512, revealed to Theodoric a Boethius quite different from the apparently calm and detached philosopher whose counsel he had followed in matters of state, and when in 523 Boethius took sides on what, as Father Schurr has so admirably proved, had become a question veritably burning he may have at once thereby signed his own death-warrant and gained a martyr's crown. It is to be hoped that Father Schurr will revert to this question in his promised sequel, which we eagerly expect.

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DOM A. WILMART O.S.B., *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen Age — Etudes d'histoire littéraire*. Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1932. Paper. 626 pp.

WITH charming modesty, characteristic of the learned Benedictine tradition, Dom Wilmart introduces his book to the public as follows: 'Ce volume n'est qu'un recueil d'études fragmentaires et disjointes, rédigées suivant le hasard des recherches, au gré de l'heure, de cette heure magique et fugitive de laquelle dépend le sort de la plupart des œuvres d'art et de science; pis! un recueil d'études de la plus lourde érudition, remplies de références, accompagnées souvent d'interminables notes. J'éprouve quelque honte de cet état de choses.' In fact, far from being in need of offering apologies, Dom Wilmart has earned the gratitude of all scholars by collecting in a solid volume all these monographs, revised with so many additions as to increase their value considerably. Furthermore, even the reader who had already become acquainted with these essays when they appeared at various times in several periodicals, obtains by going over them again in new form and in continuity a fresh and more comprehensive view of the

<sup>1</sup> See the admirable section 'Der historische Anlass der Tr. II und I' (pp. 136-167).

<sup>2</sup> Tr. v *praef.* 9 (p. 72); iv, 125 (p. 98), *quod credi nefas est*; vi, 100 (p. 112), and Cooper's Concordance s. vv. *catholicus* and *fides*.

<sup>3</sup> Tr. v, iv, 59 (p. 94).

<sup>5</sup> Tr. v, viii, 94-102 (p. 126).

<sup>4</sup> Tr. v, v, 102 (p. 106). Cf. *Ephes.* 4, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Tr. iv, 78 (p. 58).

development of certain aspects of mediaeval spirituality which the single studies had not been able to convey. As a matter of fact, this book, though consisting of various independent monographs, has a fundamental unity of its own from more than one point of view.

First of all, it gives in all its chapters a practical illustration of the close connection between liturgical prayer and mediaeval devotional literature, both in prose and in rhythmic forms, which derived its inspiration from the liturgical life and language of the Church and grew on the margin of the liturgy. For, as Dom Wilmart remarks, 'La liturgie du moyen âge ne souffre pas de cette rigidité qu'on imagine trop aisément, faute d'exercer sa vue à distance. Nous avons élevé peu à peu des barrières qui, longtemps, n'empêchèrent pas une libre communication.' Hence the large Latin devotional literature of the Middle Ages, to be understood and appreciated, must be studied and analyzed by setting it against its true background which was the liturgy, that is to say, the patterns of the public and traditional forms of prayers. In its turn, the history of the liturgy has also much to gain from such an exploration of devotional literature.

This connection between private expressions of piety and official liturgical prayers, so well emphasized by Dom Wilmart in the analysis of his texts, is a distinguishing feature of mediaeval monastic devotional literature, representing also the traditional piety of monastic life in which the liturgical offices and prayers, still lacking that rigid fixity and uniformity that was to come later, had such importance, together with the 'lectio divina,' as sources of pious meditations and spiritual nourishment. But in modern times liturgy, on the one hand, crystallized into fixed and unchangeable forms and, on the other hand, private piety, under the influence of the new religious orders which had broken away from the old monastic traditions of liturgical life, gave rise to innumerable devotional practices of a different type, to prayers, songs, novenas, and meditations which both in language and content have little or nothing in common with the ancient tradition.

Those who remember the harsh polemics of twenty years ago, provoked by the learned and frank exposition of the problem of liturgy versus private piety by Dom Festugière (*La Liturgie Catholique*, Maredsous, 1913) and the violent attack against its conclusions by the Jesuit review (*Civiltà Cattolica*, III, IV, Rome, 1914), will understand why Dom Wilmart has appropriately reprinted, as a general introduction to his book, his suggestive article 'Pour les prières de dévotion' in which the liturgical and devotional developments are sketched side by side as being the complement each of the other and bound together by indissoluble ties. But since liturgy is now under the law of fixed uniformity, and 'pour obtenir l'unité on a sacrifié la liberté,' so that 'par rapport au passé, tout le passé, il y a là un grand changement, un changement de front, presque un renversement des valeurs,' the equilibrium may be reestablished if private piety, its prayers and meditations, which enjoy that liberty now lost by liturgy, retain their close connection with the language and the spirit of the liturgy, which is the 'règle et appui' of private devotional life. Only then 'la prière privée se trouve à l'aise au milieu des obligations du culte officiel' and 'la piété regagne en quelque

sorte ce que la liturgie a conquis; et voici l'âme chrétienne, non seulement l'âme populaire, mais celle des délicats et des spirituels eux-mêmes, de nouveau satisfaite.'

From this point of view, Dom Wilmart's book, with all its solid erudition, its critical survey of manuscripts and traditions, and its notes, is in its spirit a 'livre de bataille' because it invites us, without saying so, to compare the content and the form of the many mediaeval devotional compositions presented and analyzed in his book with the devotional literature which now prevails in the Catholic Church and especially with the many new compositions and devotions that appear almost every day, and which, by the propaganda of enterprising priests and friars that smacks often of commercialism at its worst, spread rapidly everywhere.

The comparison of these two types of devotional literature is striking. One cannot fail to admire and appreciate those true representatives of mediaeval Christian piety, whose life and work left such deep traces in the spiritual history of Christianity, the purity and simple beauty of their prayers, the unworldliness of their aspirations and the impressive warmth of their devotional life. Some of the prayers reprinted in their original texts by Dom Wilmart in this volume are eloquent effusions of loving hearts and pure minds kindled by imagination, and sometimes reach high artistic effects by the most simple means. Others are loaded with doctrinal statements and even polemical hints; others still are encumbered with rhetorical tricks and scholastic reminiscences. But all of them impress the reader by their freshness and their genuine devotion; all of them with their wealth of Biblical language and Biblical images awaken in the soul visions of spiritual elevation, and by both their language and their content, derived from the venerable liturgical tradition, suggest how the spiritual world must be approached with a deep sense of reverence, and how man may pray with simplicity of heart and in a language so noble and dignified as to be worthy of both God and man.

But apart from these implications concerning Christian devotional life, Dom Wilmart's book is primarily a work of learning, in which hundreds of problems of history and of textual criticism are unravelled with the ingenuity and the skill of a veteran scholar who moves at ease in the forest of manuscripts scattered throughout European libraries, and who is familiar, as few are today, with all mediaeval religious literature and with the liturgical, patristic, and theological tradition of Christian history. When we add to these qualifications the possession of the tools of the most exacting critical method of inquiry and the unlimited patience and perseverance of a true Benedictine scholar, we may easily realize that Dom Wilmart's studies collected in this volume are such perfect models of method and accuracy that it would be preposterous to challenge any of its important conclusions. It is impossible to give in a short review, as this is, even a summary of the more than twenty compositions studied by Dom Wilmart in this book, of the value of the critical editions of texts, of the important discoveries concerning their true authors and of all the historical findings, especially about less-known figures of the mediaeval religious world. But we must mention

at least the four studies (x, xi, xii, xiii) in which the confusing riddle of the many collections of prayers and meditations attributed to St Anselm is solved once for all, and new light is thrown on his engaging personality and life, or the admirable monograph on the two Guigos, both Carthusian abbots (217-260) whose meditations, formerly unknown, are among the best compositions of this type of devotional literature. The charming personality of John *Homo-Dei*, abbot of Fruttuaria, is now revealed for the first time (pp. 64-100) by the discovery that the *Liber de vitae ordine et de morum institutione*, usually attributed to St Bernard, was his work. Other writers, unjustly forgotten, live again in Dom Wilmart's pages, like John de Scaldis with his theological meditations (pp. 299-316), Stephen of Salley, author of the *Meditationes de gaudiis B.V.M.* (pp. 317-360), Adam Scot with his *De quadripartito exercitio cellae* and many others. Special mention must be made, moreover, of the monograph on the beautiful hymn *Adoro te devote*, or rather, according to Dom Wilmart's text, *Adoro devote*, of which the whole manuscript tradition is traced in detail, and the evidence in favor of its being attributed to St Thomas Aquinas is shown to be entirely groundless. This monograph is a perfect specimen of critical methodology that could be used as a model in the schools for training students in the right use of literary and textual criticism of mediaeval sources.

Dom Wilmart's book is thus a very valuable contribution to the history of mediaeval literature and of mediaeval spiritual life, and may well serve as a model and guide for the large amount of work which, as Dom Wilmart warns us, is still to be done in this field, before the history of Mediaeval Spirituality, and not merely an outline or a summary of it, may be written. We do not mean to belittle the value of the attempts already made to provide such a history; no one can deny the great services rendered to these studies by P. Pourrat (*La Spiritualité chrétienne*, vol. II, *Le Moyen Age*, 4th ed., Paris, 1924) who, as Dom Wilmart remarks, 'a ouvert une large voie dans une forêt quasi vierge,' or by Canon Vernet (*La Spiritualité médiévale*, Paris, 1929) whose work 'est le meilleur ouvrage que nous pourrions conseiller en ces matières'; but it remains true that 'l'histoire littéraire appliquée à ces sujets n'en est encore qu'à ses débuts.' Dom Wilmart, who has sponsored and has himself used so successfully the critical literary method in these studies, is justified in his hope, modestly expressed: 'Puissè-je à mon tour conduire vers lui quelques curieux épris de vérité.'

Here is a most promising field open to our young American mediaevalists, eager to explore the less-known and often most charming aspects of mediaeval life. But let them bear in mind that, as the example of Dom Wilmart illustrates so well, this work is very exacting in its demands upon scholarship and learning, upon time and patience. The young scholar will find at his disposal for his training in this field, first of all, the large modern literature on liturgy which ought to be the starting point of his studies. Then, besides the books quoted above — to which I would like to add also the small but very suggestive book of E. Buonaiuti, *Il Misticismo Medioevale* (Pinerolo, 1928) — there are available the many works mostly monographic in character of several French, German, and of one or two English Benedictines, and the articles, bibliographies, and the large

material accumulated in the volumes of many liturgical periodicals, and above all in such special reviews as the *Review d'ascétique et de mystique* (Toulouse), *La Vie spirituelle* (Paris), the *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* (Abbaye du Mont César, Louvain), the *Revue Bénédictine* (Maredsous), and many other periodicals published mostly by Catholic religious orders.

It would be desirable also to widen this field of research as to include the study of the Eastern sources and traditions of devotional literature. In reading several of Dom Wilmart's texts, such as the compositions in honor of Sainte Anne, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Spirit, one is impressed by the similarity and often the identity of phrases and images, ideas, and even literary forms, with those of so many sermons, hymns, and devotional writings of the Eastern churches. Of course, the history of Eastern spirituality in ancient and in Byzantine times has had a large share in the studies mentioned above; but as far as the work in detail on texts of devotional literature is concerned, as exemplified by Dom Wilmart's book for the Latin texts, few or no attempts have been made to search for possible connections of the Western with the Eastern sources. It is a difficult task, to be sure, because the channels of transmission are often almost impossible to discover, but there is good reason to believe that enough evidence may be brought to light to establish the existence of such connections, and finally to write the history of Christian devotional literature from the point of view of its fundamental unity, as it has been done already with the history of liturgy.

As a conclusion, we may well remark that all work in this field to be successful ought to be a work of science and at the same time a work of love. Love means understanding. Dry-as-dust erudition may uncover facts and achieve some results; but without imagination and above all without a sympathetic appreciation and even a little personal experience in the ways of spiritual life, neither facts nor results may be set in their right light or may yield their true spirit.

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- I. V. Pouzyna, *La Chine, l'Italie et les débuts de la Renaissance. (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècles.)* Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1935. Paper. Pp. 102.
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## THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA

### COMMUNICATION

THE Clerk has the duty of announcing the death on 21 November 1935, of Professor James Field Willard of the University of Colorado. Professor Willard was a Fellow of the Academy, director of the English Government at Work project, founder and editor of *Progress of Mediaeval Studies*, and one of the prime movers in the creation and organization of the Academy. The serious loss which the Academy and American scholarship have sustained in Professor Willard's death will receive fitting recognition at the coming meetings of the Fellows and of the Corporation.

Since the annual meeting of the Corporation last year the activity of the Academy has been particularly marked in the field of publication. Two books have already been published, and six more are now in press, scheduled to appear within the next two or three months. The two books already published are *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches Relating to England*, edited by Professor J. C. Russell and Professor J. P. Heironimus (No. 1 of the Academy photo-offset series *Studies and Documents*), and *The Iudicium Quinquevirale*, by Mr C. H. Coster (Monograph No. 10). The six books now in press are: *Books Known to Anglo-Latin Writers from Aldhelm to Alcuin*, by Dr J. D. A. Ogilvy (*Studies and Documents* No. 2); *The Historia Troiana of Guido delle Colonne*, edited by Dr N. E. Griffin; *La Pratica della Mercatura of Francesco Balducci Pegolotti*, edited by Dr Allan Evans; *The Goths in the Crimea*, by Professor A. A. Vasiliev; *Brut y Brenhinedd, Cotton Cleopatra Version*, edited by Professor J. J. Parry; and *The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul*, by Professor Solomon Katz. The publication of *The Historia Troiana*, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, *The Goths in the Crimea*, and *Brut y Brenhinedd* is made possible through generous grants of funds from the American Council of Learned Societies; the publication of *The Jews in Spain and Gaul* is similarly made possible through the generosity of Mr Lucius N. Littauer of New York.

Activity in research has been limited to the carrying toward completion of projects previously sponsored, although the Academy is at present engaged in seeking funds for the support of two new projects, a survey of the manuscripts and printed texts of the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais, by Professor B. L. Ullman, and the preparation of a critical edition of the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, by Professor Jacob Hammer.

Professor E. H. Byrne, editor of the Latin Series of the Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, reports that the preliminary stage (the gathering of terms, accompanied by tentative definitions) should be complete early in 1936. It is then planned to assemble all the material in Professor Byrne's hands for reapportionment among the three collaborators, Professor Byrne, Professor Reynolds, and Dr Krueger. This reapportionment will be accompanied by condensations and eliminations, after which the collaborators can proceed with the preparation of their material in its final form. Dr Allan Evans, who is in charge of the section (to be published separately) on coinage, reports that his work should be ready for publication by the end of 1936.

Work on the new edition of the commentaries of Servius on the works of Virgil, under the direction of Professor E. K. Rand, has been largely concentrated on preparing Volume II (Aeneid I and II) for submission to the Academy for publication. This preparation is now practically complete. At the same time the editors have been engaged in assembling and coordinating all the Servian material for Volume I (*Eclogues and Georgics*).

Before his death Professor Willard had assembled all the monographs for Volume I of *The English Government at Work, 1327-36*, and was engaged in editing them for the press. In addition, all but six of the monographs for Volumes II and III have been completed. Some of the completed monographs have yet to be revised, however. The ad-

ministration of the project will be carried on by a director or directing committee appointed by the Academy; it is hoped that Volume 1 will appear in 1936.

With the exception of Miss Ann Deeley, who has been seriously ill but is now able to resume work, all the collaborators on Papal Relations with England up to the Protestant Revolution, under the direction of Professor W. E. Lunt, have made considerable progress in the drafting of their monographs. Parts of some monographs are already undergoing revision, and it is possible that one or two will be ready for publication before the end of 1936.

The preparation of editions of the commentaries of Averroes on the *De Anima*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, and *Parva Naturalia* of Aristotle has gone forward steadily under the general direction of Professor H. A. Wolfson. For many commentaries the collation of manuscripts is complete and the construction of a critical apparatus can begin. Work has been carried on in the fourth series of the *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi*, which provides for studies on the texts of Averroes or on topics suggested by these texts, as, for example, Professor Wolfson's 'The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts,' which appeared in the *Harvard Theological Review* for April, 1935.

The large-scale plan of the Abbey Church at Cluny has been completed, work has progressed on the model of the Great Portal, and tentative plans are being made for a final season at the site next summer. Professor Conant was at Cluny for a brief stay in the summer of 1935, prior to his expedition to the Near East. It is planned to offer an exhibition of Cluny material in connection with the Harvard Tercentenary.

The Clerk has the pleasure of announcing that as the result of the special election held in June 1935 Professor Myrtila Avery of Wellesley College and Professor Albert M. Friend, Jr, were elected to the Council for a term of one year.

A consulting committee of younger members, authorized by the Council, is now in process of organization. Because of financial exigencies the institution of regional consulting committees is being initiated on a small scale, and the expansion of the programme will be governed by the success of the committee now being organized. This first committee should therefore be considered not as purely regional, but as a nucleus from which further activity in this direction may be developed.

The Clerk wishes to announce the following price changes for Academy publications (former prices in parentheses):

<i>Lupus of Ferrières</i> , by C. H. Beeson		
Retail	\$5.00	(\$12.00)
To Members and booksellers	\$4.00	(\$10.00)
<i>Greek and Syrian Miniatures</i> , by W. H. P. Hatch		
Retail	\$5.00	(\$12.00)
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<i>A Concordance of Prudentius</i> , by R. J. Deferrari and J. M. Campbell		
Retail	\$5.00	(\$12.50)
To Members and booksellers	\$4.00	(\$ 9.50)

*A Word-List of Mediaeval Latin from British and Irish Sources*, by J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson (London, Milford, 1934), is available to members of the Mediaeval Academy at the special price of 9s. Orders for this book should be sent to

The Mediaeval Academy of America  
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accompanied by an International Money Order in the sum of 10s. 3d. (1s. 3d. for postage) addressed to The Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E.C. 4, England. It should be noted that this book is subject to the usual duty collected on books from England. However, even with the duty the cost of the book when ordered from England by Members is approximately \$.80 less than if ordered through the New York branch of the Oxford University Press.

The Academy had the honor to be represented at the Second Congress of the Association Guillaume Budé by Professor Étienne Gilson of the Sorbonne, a Corresponding Fellow of the Academy. The ceremonies took place at Nice 23-27 April 1935.

A luncheon for Members of the Academy and other mediaevalists was held in Pasadena on 27 July 1935, under the auspices of Professor Willard and Professor David K. Bjork. A feature of the luncheon was an exhibition of mediaeval material by the Huntington Library.

The dinner of the Academy held in Chattanooga 27 December 1935 in conjunction with the meeting of the American Historical Association was presided over by Professor A. C. Krey. The speaker was Professor J. L. La Monte, whose subject was 'A Franco-Syrian Gentleman in the Ages of the Crusades: John d'Ibelin, the Old Lord of Beirut.'

At a mediaeval session held under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute in New York 28 December 1935 Professor S. H. Cross presented a paper, 'Preliminary Observations on an Architectural Survey of Saint Sophia (Kiev).' Members of the Academy were invited to attend the joint dinner of the Archaeological Institute, the American Philological Association, and the Linguistic Society of America.

The next Annual Meeting of the Academy will be held on Saturday, 25 April 1936, in the building of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, Massachusetts. Detailed announcements will be issued well in advance of the meeting.

The Clerk wishes to remind members of the Academy that, in accordance with the By-Laws, membership in the Academy is open to anyone genuinely interested in the Middle Ages, and nominations to membership are made by any member of the Corporation. Members wishing to nominate persons interested in the Middle Ages should therefore send names and addresses to the Executive Secretary at the offices of the Academy, who will be glad to send the pertinent documents and information to the persons nominated.

EDWARD KENNARD RAND, *Clerk.*

1 January, 1936.

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1. All manuscripts must be typewritten and double-spaced with ample margins.

2. Italic will be used for the titles of books, poems, and periodical publications, for the title of manuscripts, and for technical terms or phrases not in the language of the article. Such words, phrases, passages, or titles, unless italic script itself be used, should be *underlined* in the typescript. Quotations in foreign languages will *not* be italicized.

3. Titles of articles in periodical publications should be in roman and quoted. See paragraph 10 below.

4. Single quotation marks should be used; double quotation marks will be reserved for a quotation within a quotation.

5. The following words, phrases, and abbreviations should be italicized: *ad loc.*, *cap.*, *circa* (*ca*), *et al.*, *ibid.*, *idem*, *infra*, *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, *passim*, *saec.*, *scilicet* (*scil.* or *sc.*), *sub voce* (*s.v.*), *versus* (*vs*), *vide* (*v*), *viz.*, but not: *col.*, *cf.*, *etc.*, *e.g.*, *ff.* (following), *fol.*, *fols* (*folio*, *folios*), *i.e.*, and *p.*

6. In the body of the text, quotations in any language of over five or six typewritten lines will generally be printed in small roman as separate paragraphs. In footnotes, also printed in small roman, quotations will be treated in the same manner. Small roman, used for extracts in the main text and for footnotes, should be indicated by single-spacing in the typescript.

7. Footnotes may be typed on separate pages to be attached to the pages of text to which they refer or subjoined to the end of the article. In the former case, they should be numbered in series for each page only; in the latter, consecutively throughout the article.

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In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his initials and followed by a comma; (2) title, italicized; (3) where necessary, the edition, followed by a comma; (4) place of publication, followed by a colon; (5) name of publisher; (6) date of publication; (7) reference to volume (small roman numerals without preceding 'Vol.' or 'V.') preceded and followed by a comma, and page (or column). Items 3 to 6 should be placed in parentheses. For example:

H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind* (4th ed., New York: Macmillan, 1925), II, 221.

### Notes for Contributors

9. Where the reference includes the number of the volume, as in the illustration given in paragraph 8, the abbreviation 'p.' (or 'col.') will be omitted; otherwise the page (or column) number should be preceded by 'p.' (or 'col.'). Folios of manuscripts should be designated by 'fol.' and described 'r' and 'v' (not 'a' and 'b'). For example:

C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Mediaeval Latin* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1925), p. 45.

W.-H. Maigne d'Arnis, *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Paris: Garnier, 1890), col. 1678.

*MS. Cotton Nero D. iv, fol. 259<sup>r</sup>.*

10. In citing from periodicals, the title of the article should be in roman within single quotation marks, and the title of the periodical in italics. For example:

R. R. Welschen, 'Le Concept de Personne selon Saint Thomas,' *Revue Thomiste*, xxii (1914), 129 ff.

11. The names of ancient authors appearing in the body of the text should not be abbreviated, though in footnotes abbreviation may be used. For example:

Oros., III, 12, 6.

12. In citing from the works of mediaeval and ancient authors, use roman numerals for 'books.' Arabic numerals for the smaller divisions (chapter, section, etc.). Commas, not periods, should separate these items. For example:

Bede, *Historia Eccl.*, II, 2.

13. Upon first reference, title should be given amply; in succeeding references a conventional or easily intelligible abbreviation may be employed.

14. Abbreviations such as *loc. cit.*, *op. cit.*, should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the aim, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no hard and fast rule need be laid down.

15. All references in the completed manuscript should be verified before it is submitted for publication.

16. The funds of SPECULUM do not admit of an expenditure of over fifteen per cent (15%) of the cost of composition for alterations in articles once set up in galley proof. In order that contributors may be spared the expense of exceeding this allowance, they are urged to prepare their manuscripts as nearly as possible in conformity with the above rules.

17. Contributors are advised to retain an accurate carbon copy of their articles. The editors are responsible only for manuscripts submitted to the Managing Editor, in care of the Mediaeval Academy of America, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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